

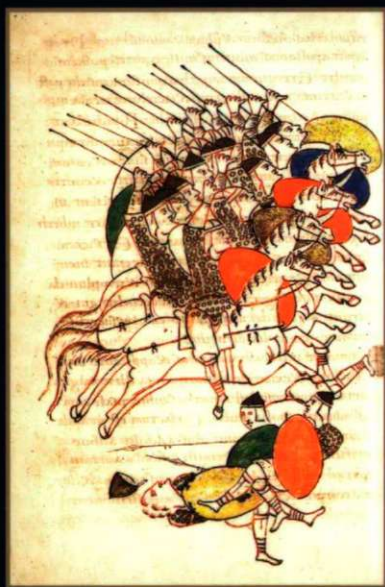
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Zoltan J. Kosztoľnyik

(1930–2006)



*"In my spirit and thought I remained
a European of Hungarian origin"¹*

Zoltan J. Kosztoľnyik, Professor Emeritus of Medieval History at Texas A&M died 28 April 2006, in Austin, in a tragic car accident. He had been driving with his wife to Austin to do some research work in the library, midway his car was hit by a truck coming from a side road.

He was born in Heves on 15 December 1930 as the first son of Zoltan Kosztoľnyik and Irene Kosztoľnyik, a family of the upper social strata of Hungary. He had a younger brother (Edward) and a sister (Monica). He grew up in a loving family. In March 1945 they left the country to spend four years in Austria. He continued his interrupted secondary studies in the Hungarian Gymnasium of Passau, Germany, which he finished in 1949. In 1948 he lost his beloved mother. In 1949 the Kosztoľnyik family left Austria and moved to the United States of America. First they settled in Minnesota, where he attended Nazareth Hall Seminary (1949–1950). Then, in 1950 they moved to Cleveland (Ohio State), the city of the largest Hungarian minority in the USA and perhaps of the western hemisphere. Here he continued his studies at St. Mary's Major Seminary (1950–1951). Immigration brought challenging times for him, he had to learn well a new language (English), and his father remarried, but soon became sick. Being the eldest one among the children, he had to interrupt his studies and work hard in a factory (The National Tool Company, Cleveland) for four years. He worked together with fellow Hungarians, who were immigrants like him and were formerly officers or teachers etc. and who often did not speak English at all. This situation was like an "ethnic ghetto", which helped him preserve his identity and at the same time hindered his acculturation to his new home. As a naturalized US citizen he was enrolled as soldier in 1955, and spent 18 months in Stuttgart, Germany. At the age of 26, he restarted his studies at St. Bonaventura University (New York State), where he concentrated mainly on history and German literature (1956–1959). He got his B. A. degree "cum laude" at 1959. Then he went to Fordham University, New York (1959–1961), where he obtained an M.A. degree in medieval history. His major professor was Jeremiah O'Sullivan. He would have liked to deal with Hungarian medieval history, but his professors advised him to rather

¹ The quotation is from my interview with Professor Kosztoľnyik (July 1996) *Aetas* 12:2–3 (1997), 198–205.

treat the age of reformation. To pursue a PhD in Hungarian medieval studies he moved to New York University (1963–1968), where he studied under Professor Marshall W. Baldwin, who became his most important “mentor.” Professor Baldwin supported his interests in Hungarian medieval history and at the same time emphasized that Hungarian history had to be always researched in European context. A Fulbright scholarship took him to Vienna University, where Zoltan Kosztolnyik spent two years (1963–1965). These years in Vienna may be regarded as decisive years for him, as he studied with Heinrich Fichteneau, Friedrich Heer, Alphons Lhotsky and others. The years in Vienna were formative both from a scholarly perspective – as they laid the basis of his PhD thesis, and also from a personal perspective, for it was here that he met a fellow Fulbright scholar, Penelope South, at the Vienna Academy of Music. Once married they settled in Bryan, Texas, where they had two daughters (Karen and Elisabeth Kosztolnyik). Coming back from Vienna, Zoltan Kosztolnyik continued his studies at New York University under the guidance of Marshall W. Baldwin. In 1968 he obtained his PhD with Honors in medieval history. In 1967 he became Instructor in History at the History Department of Texas A&M University (TAMU) in College Station, Texas in 1967 where he remained all his life. He was promoted to Assistant Professor (1968–1972), then to Associate Professor (1972–1981), and a full professorship in 1981. He retired in 2003, after 36 years of teaching and became Professor Emeritus at the age of 73. On the very day of his death he wanted to do some research work in the library of Austin University. He would not see the printed output of his last book, or the published version of one his last studies, journal articles.² He was known as teacher devoted to his students and colleagues, whom he exhorted often to “not give up”. Although his specialty was medieval history, when it as needed, he also gave lectures or seminars from ancient, Roman history, Renaissance and Reformation, Enlightenment and so on. In 1995 he received the Texas A&M University/College of Liberal Arts Distinguished Teaching Award.

In addition to his dedication to teaching, he was passionate about research, which he pursued with joy. At the same time, I think, he also wanted to serve not only Clio, the Muse of history, or with a modern phrase the science of history, but his native country, Hungary, that he never ceased to love. Most of his research work and publications were connected to Hungary, more specifically to Hungarians during the Middle Ages. He wrote five books during his lifetime, all of them on medieval Hungarian history.³ His other publications include 14 chapters of books or entries in lexicons or encyclopedias, 42 studies or articles in different periodicals (including Hungarian periodicals, like *Századok*, *Történelmi Szemle*, *Aetas*, *Chronica*, *Acta Historica Szegediensis*) and 55 review essays and book reviews.

² “The Influence of Latin Canon law on the Golden Bulls issued by Andrew II of Hungary,” *Chronica* 5 (2005) 44–61.

³ *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings: Their Policies and Their Relations with Rome*. New York 1981; *From Coloman the Learned to Bela III (1095–1196); Hungarian Domestic Policies and Their Impact upon Foreign Affairs*. New York 1987; *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*. New York 1996; *Hungary under the early Arpads, 890s to 1063*. New York 2002; *Dynastic Policy of the Arpads, from Géza I to Emery (1074–1204)*. New York 2006.

Most of these publications dealt with Hungarian medieval history as well. He was an active participant of conferences in the USA and abroad, he organized and chaired sessions and held lectures in these conferences, altogether 63. Among these conferences one must mention the international congresses held in Kalamazoo and Leeds. He invited scholars from Hungary to these sessions, including me and other colleagues of our institute or university (László Koszta, István Petrovics, Ágnes T. Horváth etc.), who participated at lectures organized and chaired by him.

Professor Kosztolnyik began his research work with Saint Gerard and his activity. Church history remained one of his most beloved research fields during his activity. A bit later political history became his main field of interest and research. He focused on the foreign and domestic policy of the Árpád dynasty and dealt with different problems of the Árpád era (till 1301) in his articles and books. Some of his publications show his growing interest in legal history. Dealing with the traditional themes of historiography he neither joined to historical schools or methods, just followed the advice of his eminent professors of the New York University or Vienna University. He can be regarded a pragmatic historian or even a conservative historian in the best sense of the word: he based his narrative and analysis mainly on the primary sources besides using a lot of secondary sources as well. One of his specialities was the frequent use of mottos taken from primary sources (chronicles etc.). He deserves praise for placing Hungarian policy and institutions in the framework of European history, and in his emphasis on comparative analysis he can be considered an innovator.

SÁNDOR LÁSZLÓ TÓTH

Die Verwendung und Bedeutung des Begriffes „Pannonien“ in historischen und geographischen Quellen des Frühmittelalters

MARTIN EGGERS



Während der Karolingerzeit erfuhr die Verwendung geographischer Begriffe antiker Provenienz im Frankenreich eine intensive Renaissance, was verschiedentlich mit der übergeordneten Idee einer *Renovatio Imperii*¹ wie auch mit dem Rückgriff auf politische Organisationsformen des Römischen Reiches² und schließlich mit der karolingischen Bildungsreform³ in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Dieser Rückgriff auf die antike Nomenklatur erfolgte aber nicht nur im germanisch-belgisch-gallischen Kernraum des Reiches,⁴ sondern auch an dessen Peripherie, besonders natürlich in jenen Gebieten, die sich auf ehemals römischem Reichsboden befanden. Ein bekanntes Beispiel hierfür ist die Verwendung der Provinzialbezeichnung *Noricum* für das bairische Stammesgebiet (bzw. *Norici* für dessen Bewohner) unter Einschluss des 743 angegliederten Fürstentums der „alpenslawischen“ Karantanen – der Vorfahren der Slowenen; erstmals in der 773/74 ver-

¹ P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*. Darmstadt 1962. D. A. Bullough, „Die Kaiseridee zwischen Antike und Mittelalter“, in Ch. Stiegemann, M. Wemhoff, Hg., *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, Bd. 1. Mainz 1999, 36–46.

² Zum südöstlichen Vorfeld des Frankenreiches vgl. in dieser Hinsicht M. Eggers, „Die südöstlichen Nachbarn des Karolingerreiches im 9. Jhdt.“ in F. R. Erkens, Hg., *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen*, Berlin 2001, 159–168.

³ P. Wolff, *L'éveil intellectuel de l'Europe*. Paris 1972. D. A. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*. Manchester 1991. R. McKitterick, Hg., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*. Cambridge 1994. E. Irlich, *Karl der Grosse und die Wissenschaften*. Wien 1994. J. Fried, *Karl der Große, die Artes liberales und die karolingische Renaissance*, in P. Butzer, u.a., Hg., *Karl der Große und sein Nachwirken*, 1 Turnhout 1997, 25–43.

⁴ E. Ewig, „Beobachtungen zur politisch-geographischen Terminologie des fränkischen Großreiches und der fränkischen Teilreiche des 9. Jhdts.“ in *Spiegel der Geschichte*, Festgabe für M. Braubach, Münster 1964, 99–140.

fassten Korbiniansvita des Argeo zu belegen.⁵ Damit ist zugleich das Problematische dieser Neuaufnahme antiker Termini angeschnitten, denn der Raum des antiken *Noricum* deckte sich keineswegs genau mit dem des bairischen Herzogtums im 8. oder 9. Jahrhundert: Während Karantanien tatsächlich überwiegend auf dem Gebiet des spätrömischen *Noricum mediterraneum* lag, umfasste das eigentliche Baiern neben dem Westteil von *Noricum ripense* (bis zur Enns) auch große Teile der spätantiken Provinz *Raetia Secunda*.⁶

Eine entsprechende Untersuchung soll hier für die frühmittelalterliche Verwendung und Bedeutung der Regionalbezeichnung „Pannonien“ vorgenommen werden, die im Zeitalter der Karolinger und Ottonen mit einem erweiterten Sinngehalt erfüllt wurde.⁷ Auf dieser begrifflichen Ausweitung im angegebenen Zeitraum basieren wichtige Argumente in der Diskussion um die Lage des so genannten „Großmährischen Reiches“⁸ oder um den Wirkungskreis und das spätere Erzbistum des „Slawenapostels“ Methodius,⁹ um die frühmittelalterliche Bistumsorganisation im östlichen Alpenraum¹⁰ oder auch bei der Untersuchung der

⁵ Dazu L. Steinberger, „Noricum, Baiern, Bayern – Name, Sprache und Geschichte,“ *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 18 (1955), 81–143. E. Klebel, „Das Fortleben des Namens 'Noricum' im Mittelalter,“ *Carinthia* I: 146 (1956), 481–492. I. Zibermayr, *Noricum, Baiern und Österreich*, Horn 1956. H. Braumüller, „Zur Geschichte der Karolingerzeit in Kärnten,“ *Carinthia* I: 148 (1958), 295–301. E. Boedecker, *Studien über das Weiterleben und die Neuverwendung von antiken Orts- und Provinznamen im österreichischen Mittelalter*. Diss. Wien 1970, 158ff. K. Mühlberger, *Das fränkisch-bayerische Ostland im 9. Jhdt.* Diss. Wien 1980, 9f. Zur antiken Provinz G. Alföldy, *Noricum*. London 1974. E. Zöllner, „Noricum und Raetia I,“ in J. Werner, E. Ewig, Hg., *Von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen 1979, 255–267. Zum Gesamtproblem auch O. Kronsteiner, *Nichts als Namen. Kleines Breviarium zur Namenkunde*. Ljubljana 2000.

⁶ Vgl. *Bayerischer Geschichtsatlas*, Hg. M. Spindler, G. Diepolder, München 1969, Karten 6, 7 (Antike) bzw. 14, 15 (8.–10. Jhdt.). R. Egger, „Der Alpenraum im Zeitalter des Überganges von der Antike zum Mittelalter,“ in *Die Alpen in der europäischen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Sigmaringen 1976, 15–26.

⁷ Eine Sammlung der entsprechenden Belege wurde erstmals versucht von K. Schünemann, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn bis zum 12. Jhdt.* Berlin/Leipzig 1923, 132ff. J. Pfister, „Pannonien in politisch-geographischer Betrachtung,“ *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 8 (1928), 114–163, 344–371. Boedecker, *Studien*, 384ff. G. Huber, *Der Begriff Pannonia in den Quellen der Karolingerzeit*. Diss. Salzburg 1972.

⁸ Siehe M. Eggers, *Das „Großmährische Reich“ – Realität oder Fiktion?* Stuttgart 1995. Ch. R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907*. Philadelphia 1995.

⁹ H. G. Lunt, „Skinny Evidence, Nationalism, and Closed Minds. The Case of Methodius, Morava, and the 'Moravian King',“ in O. Rus! *Studia litteraria in honorem H. McLean*, Berkeley 1995, 142–152. Bowlus, *Franks*, 162 ff. M. Eggers, *Das Erzbistum des Method.* München 1996. Ders., „The Historical-Geographical Implications of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission Among the Slavs,“ in A. E. Tachiaos, Hg., *Thessaloniki – Magna Moravia*, Thessaloniki 1999, 65–86.

¹⁰ K. Reindel, „Die Bistumsorganisation im Alpen-Donau-Raum in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter,“ *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 72 (1964), 277–310.

frühesten fränkisch-bulgarischen Kontakte¹¹ sowie des Siedlungsraumes der nur scheinbar rätselhaften *Abodriti/Praedenecenti/Osterabtrezi*.¹²

Die um 10 n.Chr. eingerichtete römische Provinz *Pannonia*, benannt nach der illyrischen Völkergruppe der *Pannonii*, wurde im Norden und Osten von der Donau begrenzt, im Süden umfasste sie gegen *Dalmatia* und *Moesia* hin noch einen Landstreifen südlich der Save, wobei etliche *Ad Fines*-Orte den Grenzverlauf markierten. Die Grenze gegen *Noricum* im Westen wurde mehrfach geringfügig verschoben, verlief aber im allgemeinen entlang des östlichen Alpenrandes. Unter Kaiser Traian wurde die Provinz um 106 in einen westlichen (*Pannonia superior*) und in einen östlichen Teil (*Pannonia inferior*) zerlegt. Unter Diocletian (284–305) wurden um 296 insgesamt vier neue Teilprovinzen geschaffen, nämlich *Pannonia I* im Nordwesten, *Valeria* im Nordosten, *Savia* im Südwesten und *Pannonia II* im Südosten.¹³ Außerdem entstand als weitere Neuerung eine übergeordnete Verwaltungseinheit, die Diözese¹⁴ *Pannoniae* (auch *Illyricum Orientale* benannt), welche zusätzlich *Noricum* und *Dalmatia* samt ihren Teilprovinzen umfasste.

Die Kenntnisse des Frühmittelalters über die Lage bestimmter römerzeitlicher Regionen speisten sich in erster Linie aus der in Klosterbibliotheken überlieferten geographischen und historischen Literatur der Antike. Auch an zeitgenössische Glossare wäre hier zu denken.¹⁵ Daneben steht eine Verwendung von Originalen oder Kopien antiker Karten zur Diskussion, etwa von Straßenkarten (*Itineraria*) vom Typ der *Tabula Peutingeriana*, vielleicht sogar dieses berühmten Kartenwer-

¹¹ A. Schwarcz, „Pannonien im 9. Jhdt. und die Anfänge der direkten Beziehungen zwischen dem Ostfränkischen Reich und den Bulgaren,“ in W. Pohl, H. Reimitz, Hg., *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*, Wien 2000, 99–104.

¹² Vgl. H. Kunstmann, „Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ostseeslawen,“ *Die Welt der Slaven* 26 (1981), 395–432. Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 63ff. Bowlus, *Franks*, 92. Schwarcz, *Pannonien*, 102.

¹³ Dazu A. Graf, *Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien*. Budapest 1936, 10ff. M. Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*. Wien 1963. A. Dobó, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien von Augustus bis Diocletianus*. Amsterdam 1968. L. Váradý, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens 376–476*. Budapest 1969. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*. London/Boston 1974, fig. 16 (zu Traian), 274 (zu Diocletian). L. Barkóczi, „The History of Pannonia,“ in A. Lengyel, G. Radan, Hg., *The Archeology of Roman Pannonia*. Budapest 1980, 85–124. J. Fitz, *L'Administration des Provinces Pannoniennes sous le Bas-Empire Romain* (Bruxelles 1983). J. Šašel, „Die regionale Gliederung in Pannonien,“ in G. Gottlieb, Hg., *Raumordnung im Römischen Reich*, München 1989, 57–73.

¹⁴ Zur diocletianischen Diözesanorganisation s. T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, Ma 1982.

¹⁵ H. Löwe, *Die karolingische Reichsgründung und der Südosten*. Stuttgart 1937, 155f. Zu Glossaren im weiteren Zusammenhang G. Baesecke, *Die altdutschen Glossen*. Berlin 1890. G. Goetz, „Glossographie,“ in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 13, Stuttgart 1910, Sp. 1433–1466. J. Schmid, K. Brunhölzl, „Glossen,“ in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 4, Freiburg 1960, 2. Aufl., Sp. 968–971. M. Fuhrmann, „Glossographie,“ in *Der kleine Pauly* 2, Stuttgart 1967, Sp. 818–821.

kes selber.¹⁶ Karten jener Art waren allerdings für die genaue Abgrenzung bestimmter Gebiete oder Provinzen wenig brauchbar, da sie keine maßstabsgetreue Wiedergabe der räumlichen Verhältnisse darboten.¹⁷

Andere Karten antiker Herkunft (*Mappae*) hatten dagegen versucht, die räumlichen Verhältnisse möglichst realitätsnah wiederzugeben; häufig waren sie historisch-geographischen Abhandlungen beigegeben.¹⁸ Die Annalen von Saint Bertin bezeugen etwa die Existenz einer solchen Karte am Hofe Ludwigs des Frommen. Zugleich macht aber eben dieselbe Quelle deutlich, wie selten derartige Karten damals im Fränkischen Reich waren: Lothar I., der Vorschläge zur beabsichtigten Reichsteilung unter den präsumtiven Thronerben machen sollte, musste sich in Ermangelung solcher Unterlagen an den Kaiserhof seines Vaters wenden, woraufhin dann anhand der oben erwähnten Karte die Teilungspläne erst wirklich ausgearbeitet werden konnten.¹⁹ Um welchen Typus der beiden kartographischen Überlieferungen es sich damals handelte, wird nicht evident, doch möchte man sich eher auf die zweite Variante festlegen, da ja offenbar konkrete Grenzverläufe im Gelände bestimmt werden sollten. Helmut Reimitz hat gezeigt, wie wenig sich das frühe Mittelalter in der „Bemühung um einen Konsens geographischer Realität“ kartographischer Darstellungen bediente und wie sehr es lieber literarischer Überlieferung vertraute.²⁰

Angesichts dieses Mangels an optischen Hilfsmitteln verwundert es jedenfalls nicht, dass die verwendeten geographischen Begriffe antiker Tradition in den frühmittelalterlichen Quellen des christlichen Europa sich nicht immer mit den Vorstellungen der Römerzeit (welche ja dank klassischer Bildung des Lesers unerschwerlich häufig noch immer die unseren sind)²¹ deckten. Antike Ortsbezeich-

¹⁶ H. Koller, „Der ‘mons Comagenus’,“ *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 71 (1963), 237–245, hier 244; A. Levi, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*. Roma 1967; Gy. László, „Inter Sabariam et Carnuntum,“ *Studia Slavica* 21 (1975), 139–157, hier 140; E. Weber, Hg., *Kommentar zur Tabula Peutingeriana*. Graz 1976; H. Wolfram, „Ethnogenesen im frühmittelalterlichen Donau- und Ostalpenraum (6.–10. Jhdt.),“ in H. Beumann, W. Schröder, Hg., *Frühmittelalterliche Ethnogenesen im Alpenraum*. Sigmaringen 1985, 97–151, hier 143f.

¹⁷ Zu Abgrenzungsproblemen dieser Art H. Reimitz, „Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen im karolingischen Mitteleuropa“, in: W. Pohl, H. Reimitz, Hg., *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*. Wien 2000, 105–166, hier 109.

¹⁸ M. C. Andrews, „The Study and Classification of Medieval Mappaemundi,“ *Archeologia* 75 (1926), 61–76. R. Uhden, „Zur Herkunft und Systematik der mittelalterlichen Weltkarten,“ *Geographische Zeitschrift* 37 (1931), 321–340. Reimitz, *Grenzen*, 119. J. W. Thrower, *Maps and Civilization*. Chicago 1996. E. Edson, *Mapping Space and Time*. London 1999, v.a. 97ff.

¹⁹ Vgl. zu dieser Episode H. Wolfram, *Die Karolingerzeit in Niederösterreich*. St. Pölten 1980, 12.

²⁰ Reimitz, *Grenzen*, 112ff.

²¹ Was mehrfach zu Fehlinterpretationen geführt hat, so bei I. Boba, *Moravia's History Reconsidered*. Den Haag 1971, 12f., der „Großmähren“ = Moravia wegen dessen häufiger Gleichsetzung mit Pannonien in frühmittelalterlichen Quellen *ausschließlich* südlich der Donau, also allein im antiken römischen Pannonien suchen wollte. Zu dem Phä-

nungen, ob Toponyme oder Choronyme, wurden oft auf ganz andere Lokalitäten übertragen. Ein Beispiel ist der Herkunftsort des hl. Martin von Tours, *Sabaria*, der im Frühmittelalter an zwei verschiedenen ungarischen Lokalitäten gesucht wurde.²² Dies geschah vor allem dort, wo die örtliche Traditionskette abgerissen war. Die Gewässer- und Gebirgsnamen waren von diesem Phänomen offenbar weniger betroffen, gestaffelt natürlich nach ihrer jeweiligen Größe oder ihrer Bedeutung für den lokalen Verkehr.²³

In besonderem Maße traf ein solcher Kontinuitätsbruch auf diejenigen Teile des Römischen Reiches zu, die in der südöstlichen Nachbarschaft des Frankenreiches lagen. Mit den Barbareneinfällen des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts, vor allem aber mit der Invasion der Awaren und Slawen, welche – anders als die Germanen – vor dem Übertritt auf Reichsboden in keinem Kulturaustausch mit der römischen Welt gestanden hatten, erlosch hier fast jede städtebauliche, kulturelle, kirchliche, sprachliche und damit letztlich auch toponomastische Kontinuität.²⁴ Interessant ist es daher, wie im Frühmittelalter antike Begriffe für diesen Raum verwendet wurden. Dabei kann die Bezeichnung *Illyricum*, welche zunächst nur eine römische Provinz bezeichnete, dann – seit der Reichsreform unter Konstantin dem Großen – für eine der vier Präfecturen des Reiches übergeordneter Begriff eines wesentlich umfassenderen Sprengels, der auch Pannonien einschloss,²⁵ hier zunächst außer Betracht bleiben.

nomen antik-mittelalterlicher geographischer Bezeichnungen auch allgemein Reimitz, *Grenzen*, 146.

²² Nämlich in Szombathely (Steinamanger, antik *Savaria*) und bei Pannonhalma (Martinsberg, antik *Sabaria sicca*), E. B. Thomas, „Zur Quirinus- und Martins-Frage in Sabaria“, *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 43 (1981), 5–18.

²³ Th. Szabó, „Antikes Erbe und karolingisch-ottonische Verkehrspolitik“, in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, Festschrift J. Fleckenstein, Sigmaringen 1984, 125–145. Vgl. auch die Karten bei Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, fig. 59 und 60.

²⁴ A. Alföldy, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*. Berlin–Leipzig 1926. L. Váradý, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens*. Budapest 1969. H. D. Kahl, „Zwischen Aquileia und Salzburg“, in H. Wolfram, F. Daim, Hg., *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im 5. und 6. Jhdt.* Wien 1980, 33–81, hier 62, 75. Vilfan, „La cristianizzazione delle campagne presso gli Slavi del sud occidentali“, in *Settimane di studio dell Centro Italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo*, 28, Spoleto 1982, 889–918. V. Popović, „Die süddanubischen Provinzen in der Spätantike“, *Völker Südosteuropas* (1987), 95–139. W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.* München 1988, 89ff. Für die anders gelagerte Situation in Noricum J. Šašel, „Zur historischen Ethnographie des mittleren Donaumaumes“, in H. Wolfram, F. Daim, Hg., *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im 5. und 6. Jhdt.* Wien 1980, 13–17, zu abweichenden Befunden in Teilen Pannoniens E. Tóth, „Zur Geschichte des nordpannonischen Raumes im 5.–6. Jhdt.“, ebd. 93–100. Gy. Székely, „Die Permanenz der Römer in Pannonien: Ein Problem“, in *Popoli delle steppe*, Bd. 1, Spoleto 1988, 101–121.

²⁵ Zum *Illyricum* N. Vulić, „*Illyricum*“, in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 9/1, Stuttgart 1914, Sp. 1085–1088. R. Rogosić, *Veliki Ilirik i njegova konečna doba*. Zagreb 1962. I. Szilágyi, „*Illyricum*“, in *Der Kleine Pauly*, 2, München 1979, Sp.

Mit dem Untergang des Weströmischen Reiches verschwanden die Bezeichnungen der unter Diocletian eingerichteten vier Teilprovinzen *Pannonia I* und *II* sowie *Valeria* und *Savia*.²⁶ Die zu Beginn des 6. Jahrhunderts in Italien entstandene *Vita Severini* des Eugippius kennt bereits nur mehr ein „unteres“ und ein „oberes“ Pannonien, allerdings mit einem gegenüber der traianischen Grenzziehung deutlich veränderten Geltungsbereich.²⁷ Ersteres bezeichnet den damals in ostgotischer Hand befindlichen Südteil, letzteres die nördliche, an das *Noricum ripense* derselben Quelle grenzende Hälfte Pannoniens, beide getrennt durch die Drau – also eine Drehung um 90° gegenüber den Verhältnissen des 2. Jahrhunderts.²⁸ Die spätantike *Divisio orbis terrarum* aus dem 4. bis 5. Jahrhundert nennt *Pannonia* nur noch ohne irgendeine weitere Erläuterung unter anderen Provinzialbezeichnungen des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts.²⁹

Während der Name *Pannonia* mit der awarischen Inbesitznahme 568 im Lande selbst erlosch, erhielt sich die Bezeichnung nicht nur in der traditionsverhafteten byzantinischen Historiographie, sondern auch im Westen. Isidor von Sevilla kennt Pannonien samt seinen Nachbarprovinzen und vermag es korrekt in den römischen *Orbis terrarum* einzuordnen.³⁰ Ähnlich beschreibt Jordanes in der „Gotengeschichte“ Pannonien: *Gothi ... accipientesque Pannoniam quae, in longam porrecta planitie habet ab oriente Moesiam superiorem, a meridie Dalmatiam, ab occasu Noricum, a septemtrione [sic] Danubium, ornata civitatibus plurimis, quarum prima Sirmis [Sirmium, Sremska Mitrovica], extrema Vindomina [Vindobona, Wien];*³¹ überraschend ist sein *Pannonia interior*, wohl eine Verschreibung für *inferior*.³²

Besondere Beachtung fand Pannonien aber bei zwei anderen germanischen Völkern, bei den Langobarden und den Franken. Für die 568 nach Italien ausgewanderten Langobarden ist dies nur allzu verständlich, bezeichnete *Pannonia* doch ihre alten Wohnsitze in der Zeit zwischen 527/48 und 567,³³ deren Wieder-

1367–1369. L. Maksimović, „L’Illyricum septentrional au VI^e siècle,” *SRVJ* 19 (1980), 17–57. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*. London 1969, 435ff. Eggers, *Erzbistum des Method*, 24ff.

²⁶ Graf, *Übersicht*, 41; H. Wolfram, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*. *Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien*, Wien u.a. 1979, 103; s.a. J. Šašel, „*Antiqui Barbari*. Zur Besiedlungsgeschichte Ostnoricums und Pannoniens im 5. und 6. Jhdts. nach den Schriftquellen,” in J. Werner, E. Ewig, Hg., *Von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen 1979, 125–139, hier 129, 132 (zu Pannonien in den Jahren 456 und 488).

²⁷ *Vita Severini* 5.1, in *Eugippius: Das Leben des heiligen Severin*, Hg. R. Noll, Passau 1981, 64f. bzw. ebd. 44, Brief des Eugippius an Paschasius, 10.

²⁸ Vgl. auch die Karte bei Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, 93.

²⁹ „*Divisio orbis terrarum* 10,” in *Geographi Latini Minores*, Hg. A. Riese, Heilbronn 1878, 16f.

³⁰ „Isidor, *Etymologiae*” XIV. 4, in *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, Hg. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1957.

³¹ *Jordanis de origine actibusque Getarum* L. 264, Hg. F. Giunta, Roma 1991, 108f. und passim.

³² Ebd. LIII. 272, Ed. Giunta, 113.

³³ J. Werner, *Die Langobarden in Pannonien*. München 1962. I. Bóna, *Der Anbruch des Mittelalters. Gepiden und Langobarden in Pannonien*. Budapest 1976. J. Jarnut, *Geschichte der*

inbesitznahme im Falle eines Scheiterns in Italien sie sich in dem gegen die Gepiden gerichteten Bündnisvertrag mit den Awaren ausbedungen hatten – wenn auch dieser Vertragsspassus in der Praxis ein rein theoretischer blieb und machtpolitisch wohl sicher nach 567 nicht mehr durchzusetzen gewesen wäre.³⁴ Paulus Diaconus tut immerhin in seiner „Langobardengeschichte“ mehrfach nostalgisch der Provinz *Pannonia* Erwähnung.³⁵

Die Franken hatten wohl hauptsächlich deshalb ein reges Interesse an Pannonien, weil der fränkische „Nationalheilige“ St. Martin ausweislich seiner Legende aus *Sabaria* in Pannonien stammte.³⁶ Auch ließ eine *Origo-gentis*-Sage die Franken von Pannonien her ins Rheinland einwandern.³⁷ Schon der austrasische König Theudebert I. beanspruchte kurz nach 531, rechtmäßig oder nicht, gegenüber Byzanz die Herrschaft über die *Pannonia*.³⁸ Um die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts war dem Verfasser einer Kosmographie *Pannonia* eine wenn auch knappe Erwähnung wert.³⁹ Die Chronik des sogenannten „Fredegar“ (um 660)⁴⁰ und die *Emmeramsvita* des Arbeo von Freising (um 773/74)⁴¹ verwendeten *Pannonia* im Zusammenhang mit den Wohnsitzen der Awaren, ersterer teilweise beim Bericht über den awarisch-bulgarischen Bürgerkrieg um 630 in der Form *Pannia*, letzterer als eine mit dem gesamten Awarereich identische Größe. Es ist also zu kon-

Langobarden. Stuttgart 1982, 19ff. W. Menghin, *Die Langobarden*. Stuttgart 1985, 21ff. I. Bóna, *Hunok, Gepidák, Langobardok*. Szeged 1993.

³⁴ Pohl, *Awaren*, 52ff. A. Schneider, *Herkunft und Geschichte der pannonischen Langobarden*. Teplitz 1926.

³⁵ Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* II. 7, III. 30, IV. 11, Hg. G. Waitz = MG SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 48, Hannover 1878, 89, 135, 150. „Andreae Bergomatensis Historia,“ in MG SS rer. Langobardorum, Hg. Societas aperiendis fontibus, 222 zur Auswanderung aus „Pannonien“. W. Pohl, „Paulus Diaconus und die Historia Langobardorum,“ in A. Scharer, G. Schaibelreiter, Hg., *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Wien 1994, 375–405.

³⁶ H. Koller, „Pannonien im 9. Jhdt.“, in *Annales Instituti Slavici* 8 (1974), 7–19, hier 10.

³⁷ N. Wagner, „Zur Herkunft der Franken aus Pannonien,“ in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 11 (1977), 218–228. Die Sage ist überliefert bei Gregor von Tours, *Historia Francorum*, II. 9. Allgemein H. Bollnow, „Die Herkunftssagen der germanischen Stämme als Geschichtsquellen,“ *Baltische Studien* N. F. 54 (1968), 14–25. I. Wood, Hg., *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective*. San Marino 1998.

³⁸ So im Brief an Kaiser Justinian, in MGH Epp. 3, Nr. 20, Hg. W. Gundlach, Hannover 1892, 132f.

³⁹ „Versus de Asia et de universi mundi rota, in MGH Poetae latini medii aevi 4/2,“ Hg. K. Strecker, Berlin 1914, 552.

⁴⁰ Fredegar IV. 72, in *Die vier Bücher der Chroniken des sogenannten Fredegar*. Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jhdts., Hg. A. Kusternig, Darmstadt 1982, 44–325, hier 242.

⁴¹ *Emmeramsvita* 3, 4, in *Arbeonis Vitae Sanctorum Haimhrammi et Corbiniani*, Hg. B. Krusch = MG SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 13, Hannover–Leipzig 1920, 30, 32: *Pannoniensis plebs, tot Avarorum regna bzw. partibus Pannoniae ad robustam gentem Avarorum*.

statieren, dass man im Westen schon vor Karl dem Großen den Awaren und ihren Sitzen in Pannonien topographisch einige Aufmerksamkeit schenkte.⁴²

Bei allen bisher genannten Quellen kann sich der Begriff *Pannonia* durchaus noch allein auf den Raum der ehemaligen römischen Provinz beziehen, also nur auf den Westteil des Awarenreiches, da hier das Hauptinteresse der Berichtstatter lag, wenn auch bereits ebenso die gesamte *Avaria* gemeint sein könnte. Die Kosmographie des anonymen, im frühen 9. Jahrhundert schreibenden „Geographen von Ravenna“, die allerdings auf Vorlagen des 6. Jahrhunderts basiert,⁴³ schildert Pannonien jedenfalls noch im Umfang der römischen Provinz, mit einer Unterteilung in Ober- und Unterpannonien, *Valeria* und *Carneola* sowie mit Angabe zahlreicher Ortsnamen antiker Tradition.⁴⁴

Die fränkischen Quellen, welche vom Awarenkrieg Karls des Großen (788–803) berichten,⁴⁵ lassen dagegen bereits eindeutig erkennen, dass unter Pannonien nicht mehr nur der Westen, sondern auch schon die Gesamtheit des Awarenreiches verstanden wurde.⁴⁶ Man hat sogar einen angeblichen Wandel der Terminologie in der fränkischen Annalistik zwischen 791 und 796 konstatieren wollen, von einer ursprünglichen *Hunia/Avaria* hin zu einem antikisierenden *Pannonia*.⁴⁷ So heißt der „Awarenring“, das wohl eher zeremonielle denn institutionelle, unbefestigte Zentrum des Awarenreiches, zu suchen zwischen mittlerer Donau und Theiß⁴⁸ und somit also außerhalb des ehemaligen römischen Reichsgebietes, im Lobgedicht des Theodulf von Orléans auf den Awarensieger Karl „pannonischer Ring“, wo unglaubliche Schätze erbeutet wurden (*quas tibi Pannonico mittit ab orbe deus*).⁴⁹ Die jüngeren Salzburger Annalen kommentieren den 796 gegen diesen „Ring“ und dann über die Theiß hinaus geführten Feldzug des Karlssohnes Pippin: *Pippinus in Pannonia ad Hringe*.⁵⁰ Ebenso lokalisieren die

⁴² D. A. Tirr, „The Attitude of the West Towards the Avars,“ *Acta Archaeologica* 28 (1976), 111–121.

⁴³ Dazu J. Schnetz, *Ravennas Anonymus, Cosmographia. Eine Erdbeschreibung um das Jahr 700*. Uppsala 1951. F. Staab, „Ostrogothic Geographers at the Court of Theoderic the Great,“ *Viator* 7 (1976), 27–64. Ders., „Geograph von Ravenna,“ in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 11 (Berlin 1998), 102–109. Reimitz, *Grenzen*, 114f.

⁴⁴ *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* IV. 19, 20, Hg. J. Schnetz, Leipzig 1940, 56: *Item ... sunt patrie ... due que nominantur Pannonie, id est inferior et superior*.

⁴⁵ Zum Awarenkrieg Karls s. H. Koller, „Die Awarenkriege Karls des Großen,“ *Mitteilungen der österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 15 (1964), 1–12. J. Deér, „Karl der Große und der Untergang des Awarenreiches,“ in W. Braunsfels, Hg., *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Bd. 1, Düsseldorf 1965, 719–791. W. Pohl, *Die Awarenkriege Karls des Großen 788–803*. Wien 1988. Bowlus, *Franks*, 46ff.

⁴⁶ So auch Schwarcz, *Pannonien*, 99.

⁴⁷ Huber, *Begriff Pannonia*, 24ff.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 40f.

⁴⁹ „Theodulfi carmen ad Carolum regem,“ MGH *Poetae latini medii aevi* 1, Hg. E. Dümmler, Hannover 1881, 484.

⁵⁰ „Annales Iuvavenses minores ad 796,“ in MGH *SS* 30/2, Hg. H. Bresslau, Hannover 1934, 727–744, hier 737.

Reichsannalen,⁵¹ die Annalen von Fulda⁵² und von Metz⁵³ den „Ring“ entweder in *Pannonia* oder in *Pannonias* und beschreiben den Awarenzug Pippins mit eben diesen Zielangaben. Präfekt Gerold fiel 799 gegen die Awaren in *Pannonia*.⁵⁴ Einhard schließlich sieht Pannonien als das Siedlungsgebiet der Awaren schlechthin: *Nam hanc provinciam ea gens tunc incolebat*. Die Entvölkerung Pannoniens ist für ihn, rhetorisch etwas übertrieben, die logische Kriegsfolge: *Vacua omni habitatore Pannonia*⁵⁵ – angesichts des Kriegsverlaufes müsste das auch Teile des Karpatenbeckens östlich der Donau einschließen.⁵⁶ Ebenso setzt Notker der Stammler Pannonien mit dem besiegten und geplünderten Awarenreich gleich: *Porro praedam in Pannonia repertam per episcopiam vel monasteria ... distribuit*.⁵⁷ Ohne Pannonien selbst zu nennen, führt Paulinus von Aquileia im *Planctus de Herico duce* eine ganze Reihe von Orts- und Flussnamen an, welche dieser Provinz zuzuordnen seien, um deutlich zu machen, dass sich der Aktionsbereich seines Helden eben auch dorthin erstreckte.⁵⁸

Während die bisher aufgeführten Quellen Pannonien nicht weiter unterteilen – nur Einhard spricht einmal von *utramque Pannoniam*,⁵⁹ der *Poeta Saxo* von *Pannonias utrasque*,⁶⁰ was man als einen Hinweis auf ein geographisches Bewusstsein der Schreiber von zwei römischen Teilprovinzen auffassen könnte –, werden um 820 erstmals seit dem ravenatischen Geographen wieder ein „oberes“ und ein „unteres“ Pannonien unterschieden. So heißt der aufständische Slawenfürst Liudewit in der fränkischen Annalistik einmal *dux inferioris Pannoniae*,⁶¹ dann wieder *rector inferioris Pannoniae*.⁶² Da bekannt ist, dass sich Liudewits Residenz im heutigen Sisak (*Siscia* an der *Save*) und sein Herrschaftsbereich etwa im heutigen nordwestlichen slawonischen Kroatien befand,⁶³ so erschließt man als die gemeinte *Pannonia inferior* denselben Bereich wie in der *Vita Severini* oder bei dem

⁵¹ „*Annales regni Francorum ad 796*,“ Hg. F. Kurze = MGH SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 6, Hannover 1895, 98f.

⁵² „*Annales Fuldenses ad 795*,“ Hg. F. Kurze = MG SS rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 5, Hannover 1891, 13.

⁵³ „*Annales Mettenses priores ad 796*,“ Hg. B.v. Simson = MGH SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 10, Hannover-Leipzig 1905, 81.

⁵⁴ „*Annales regni Francorum*,“ 108.

⁵⁵ „*Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*“ 13, Hg. O. Holder-Egger = MGH SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 25, Hannover 1911, 16.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 31ff. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, 46ff.

⁵⁷ „*Notkeri Gesta Karoli*,“ II. 1, in *Notker der Stammler: Die Taten Kaiser Karls des Großen*, Hg. H. F. Haefele = MGH SS rer. German. N. 12, Berlin 1959, 51

⁵⁸ Zu den damit beabsichtigten Assoziationen Reimitz, *Grenzen*, 149 f.

⁵⁹ *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni* 15, Ed. Holder-Egger, 18, Dazu Reimitz, *Grenzen*, 145ff.

⁶⁰ „*Poeta Saxo*“ 5, in *MG Poetae latini medii aevi*, 4/1, Hg. P.v. Winterfeld, 1899, 1–71, hier 60.

⁶¹ „*Annales regni Francorum ad 818*,“ 149.

⁶² „*Anonymi Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*,“ 31, in MGH SS 2, Hg. G. H. Pertz, Hannover 1829, 604–648, hier 624.

⁶³ Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 244ff.

Geographen von Ravenna.⁶⁴ Diese Annahme wird dadurch bestätigt, dass nach den Reichsannalen im Jahre 819 ein dem Fürsten Liudewit aus Baiern über die *Pannonia superior* entgegenziehendes fränkisches Heer vor Erreichen seines Zieles die Drau überschreiten musste.⁶⁵ Analog lag Oberpannonien um diese Zeit also jenseits der Drau.⁶⁶

Wenig später, ab 827, berichten dieselben fränkischen Reichsannalen über einen Vorstoß der Bulgaren zu Schiff die Drau hinauf. Sie hätten die *termini Pannoniae superioris* verheert, fränkisch-slawische Amtsträger vertrieben und eigene bulgarische *rectores* eingesetzt.⁶⁷ Nach dem, was zuvor über die Rolle der Drau als Trennlinie zwischen Ober- und Unterpannonien deutlich gemacht wurde, ist nicht ganz einzusehen, warum hier ein Teil der Forschung eine Verwechslung von *Pannonia inferior* und *superior* unterstellt⁶⁸ – die Bulgaren konnten doch so gut nördlich wie südlich der Drau plündern, und der Norden war sicherlich nicht so mitgenommen wie das nach mehreren Kriegsjahren durch die Kämpfe gegen Liudewit weitgehend verwüstete Slawonien südlich der Drau, somit also eindeutig das lohnenswertere Ziel.

Die bisher zu beobachtende Zweiteilung Pannoniens unter fränkischer Herrschaft betrachtet Konrad Schünemann als „rein literarisch“, da sich kein entsprechender Wiederhall in Urkunden finde.⁶⁹ Andere vermuteten dagegen hinter dieser Nomenklatur real existierende Verwaltungseinheiten, wobei unter Karl dem Großen und seinem Sohn Ludwig dem Frommen das untere Pannonien zunächst dem italienischen, das obere dem bairischen Teilreich zugeordnet gewesen sei. Erst die auf die Niederlage des friulanischen Markgrafen Balderich gegen die Bulgaren folgende Verwaltungsreform von 828 habe diesen Zustand verändert.⁷⁰ Die spätere, etwa ab 828 existierende *Pannonia superior* soll nur noch in Nord-

⁶⁴ R. Katičić, „Die Anfänge des kroatischen Staates“, in H. Wolfram, A. Schwarcz, Hg., *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, 1, Wien 1985, 299–312, hier 300 Anm. 4, vermutet beim Annalisten sogar eine Kenntnis der Severinsvita.

⁶⁵ „Annales regni Francorum ad 819“, 150f.

⁶⁶ Zur Gliederung in Ober- und Unterpannonien H. Pirchegger, „Karantanien und Unterpannonien zur Karolingerzeit“, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 33 (1912), 272–319. I. Bóna, „Die Verwaltung und die Bevölkerung des karolingischen Pannoniens im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Quellen“, *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14 (1985), 149–160. Schwarcz, *Pannonien*, 99. J. Steinhübel, „Division of Pannonia Among the Franconian Marches“, *Studia Historica Slovaca* 19 (1995), 7–35.

⁶⁷ „Annales regni Francorum ad 827, 828“, 173f.

⁶⁸ V. Gjuselev, „Bulgarisch-fränkische Beziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jhdts.“, *Byzantino-Bulgarica* 2 (1966), 15–39, hier 33 mit Anm. 68. Huber, *Begriff Pannonia*, 35ff. Dagegen richtig Bóna, *Verwaltung*, 152.

⁶⁹ Schünemann, *Deutsche in Ungarn*, 134.

⁷⁰ I. Bóna, „‘Cundpald fecit’. Der Kelch von Petőháza und die Anfänge der bairisch-fränkischen Awaren-Mission“, *Acta Archaeologica* 18 (1966), 279–325, hier 313ff. Gjuselev, *Beziehungen*, 33. L. E. Havlík, *Panonie ve světle franských pramenů 9. století*, *Slavia Antiqua* 17 (1970), 1–36, hier 5. Huber, *Begriff Pannonia*, 33ff. Wolfram, *Conversio*, 129f. Schwarcz, *Pannonien*, 99, 103.

westungarn, zwischen Raab und Wienerwald, gelegen haben.⁷¹ Die karolingerzeitliche *Pannonia* (auch mit den Zusätzen *superior* und *inferior*) beschrieb aber weniger eine allgemein verbindliche, als eine von der jeweiligen klassischen Bildung oder den konkreten politisch-propagandistischen Zwecken des Autors abhängige geographische Einheit. Man sollte es kaum in einem verwaltungstechnischen Sinne verstehen, selbst wenn man sich mit Heinrich Koller für eine bewusste, seit etwa 830 zu beobachtende Angleichung des Sprachgebrauches der fränkischen Kanzleien an die römische Nomenklatur ausspricht.⁷² Völlig konventionell im Sinne antiker Geographie, aber nicht unbedingt in politischer, sondern eher in topographischer Bedeutung gehen beispielsweise die Wessobrunner Glossen vor, wenn sie *Pannonia* erklären mit *sic nominatur illa terra meridie Danobia*.⁷³

Im Zusammenhang mit dem „Dukat“ oder der Markgrafschaft des slawischen Fürsten Pribina (ca. 840–860) und seines Sohnes und Nachfolgers Kocel (861–874/76)⁷⁴ erscheint die Bezeichnung *Pannonia* natürlich des öfteren, lag doch deren Herrschaft voll und ganz im Nordteil der ehemaligen pannonischen römischen Großprovinz. Anhand von Schenkungsurkunden, der zeitgenössischen *Conversio* sowie einiger annalistischer Passagen lässt sich eindeutig feststellen, dass ihr Mandatsgebiet im Norden und Osten von der Donau, im Süden von der Drau begrenzt wurde. Im Westen gibt es einzelne Anhaltspunkte aufgrund der in den Quellen genannten Ortsnamen.⁷⁵ Das Zentrum dieser Markgrafschaft war die von Sümpfen umgebene und daher sehr gut zu verteidigende (wenn auch wahrscheinlich der Gesundheit ihrer Besatzung nicht gerade förderliche) Festung „Moosburg“, althochdeutsch *Mosapurc*, lateinisch *Urbs paludarum* nahe beim heutigen Zalavár südöstlich des Plattensees.⁷⁶

Die Mission des aus Thessaloniki stammenden byzantinischen Gelehrten Methodius bei den Slawen (ab 863) und die Schaffung eines von ihm geleiteten Erz-

⁷¹ Mitterauer, *Markgrafen*, 86f., 117f., 204f. Kurt Reindel, „Bayern im Karolingerreich,“ in Helmut Beumann, Hg., *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*. Bd. 1: Persönlichkeit und Geschichte, Düsseldorf 1967, 236. Huber, *Begriff Pannonien*, 44ff. A. Cs. Sós, *Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jhd.* München 1973, 10, 22. Wolfram 1987, 277f.

⁷² Koller, *Pannonien*, 12f. Ähnlich Sós, *Die slawische Bevölkerung*, 18ff.

⁷³ „Monumenta Wessofontana Clm. 22053,“ in Herrmann, *Slawisch-germanische Beziehungen*, 117.

⁷⁴ H. Wolfram, „Slawische Herrschaftsbildungen im pannonischen Raum als Voraussetzung für die Slawenmission,“ *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 126 (1986), 245–253. Ch. R. Bowlus, „The Military Organization of Carinthia and Pannonia,“ in F. Seibt, Hg., *Festschrift für K. Bosl*, München 1988, 168–178. P. Štih, „Priwina: Slawischer Fürst oder fränkischer Graf?“ in K. Brunner, B. Merta, *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung*, München 1994, 209–222. Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 250ff. mit Anm. 15.

⁷⁵ Vgl. dazu die Karte bei Sós, *Westungarn*.

⁷⁶ Das pannonische Moosburg ist nicht zu verwechseln mit der karolingischen Pfalz in Kärnten; außerdem gibt es noch ein bairisches Moosburg nördlich von München. Dieser Name ist natürlich im süddeutschen Sprachgebrauch auf jede von sumpfigem Gelände umgebene Befestigung anzuwenden. In und bei Zalavár finden seit langem, im Moment wieder verstärkt Ausgrabungen karolingerzeitlicher Siedlungen statt.

bistums (869) führte in den Quellen zu einer wahren Inflation des Begriffes „Pannonien“, da sich der von Rom konstruierte Rechtsanspruch gegenüber den Byzantinern und Franken auf die ehemalige diocletianische Diözese Pannonien mit Zentrum in *Sirmium* stützte.⁷⁷ So berichtet die *Methodvita* von der Einsetzung ihres Protagonisten zum „Bischof von Pannonien auf den Stuhl des hl. Apostels Andronikos“ (πα ἐπ(η)ς(κου)π στω въ Панонии, на столъ с(ва)т(а)го ѿндроника ап(о)с(то)ла),⁷⁸ welcher der Legende nach in *Sirmium* gewirkt hatte.⁷⁹ Die griechische *Vita* des heiligen Klemens nennt Methods Amtsbereich „Morava von Pannonien“ (Μοράβου της Πανονίας), ihn selbst den Inhaber des Bischofsamtes von Pannonien, schließlich sogar in Verbindung zweier Begriffe als „Methodius, der die Provinz Pannonien zierte, als er Erzbischof von Morava geworden war“ (Μεθόδιος ὃς τὴν Πανόνων ἐπαρχίαν ἐχόσμησεν, ἐρχιεπίσκοπος Μοράβου γενόμενος).⁸⁰ Die kirchenslawische zweite *Vita* des Naum lässt dagegen Method den „Erzbischof für Morava und ganz Pannonien“ sein (архиепископ Моравоу и всѣхъ Паноніае).⁸¹ Desgleichen erscheint der Begriff „Pannonien“, bezogen auf Methods Amtsbereich, in mehreren päpstlichen Schreiben: Briefe Johannes' VIII. aus dem Jahre 873 bezeichnen seine Diözese als *Pannoniensium episcopatus* oder *Pannonica diocesis*, Method selbst als *Pannonicus archiepiscopus*. Zum letzten Mal wird Method 879 in Bezug zu Pannonien gesetzt, indem ihn Papst Johannes VIII. als den *archiepiscopus Pannoniensis ecclesiae* adressierte.⁸² Unübersehbar ist die mehrfache enge Verbindung der geographischen Bezeichnungen *Pannonia* und *Morava/Marava*.

Da nach Herbert Schelesniker Metropolitanbischöfe gewöhnlich den Namen der Kirchenprovinz, der sie vorstehen, in ihrem Titel führen,⁸³ sollte man annehmen, dass Methodius bis 879 in jenem Gebiet amtierte, das man im 9. Jahrhundert unter *Pannonia* verstehen konnte. An anderer Stelle wird er als zuständig für die slawischen Machthaber Kocel, Rastislav und Sventopulk ausgewiesen.⁸⁴ Das Gebiet des Fürsten Kocel befand sich, wie erwähnt, zweifelsfrei im Raum des antiken Pannonien.

Wie aber stand es um die Herrschaften der beiden anderen beteiligten Slawenfürsten, Rastislav und Sventopulk? Hier ist nun wiederum auf die beobachtete Begriffsverschiebung hinzuweisen. Während Rastislavs Moravia offensichtlich

⁷⁷ Vgl. dazu I. Boba, „The Episcopacy of St. Methodius,” *Slavic Review* 26 (1967), 85–92. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, 162ff. Eggers, *Erzbistum des Method*, 17ff.

⁷⁸ *Methodvita* 8, 158.

⁷⁹ So im Neuen Testament, Römer 16.

⁸⁰ Klemensvita III. 10, IV. 14, II. 4, in *Grčkite žitija na Kliment Ohridski*, Hg. A. Milev, Sofia 1966, 82, 86, 78. Vgl. auch H. Schelesniker, „Gedanken zu einem 'häretischen' Buch,” *Anzeiger für slawische Philologie* 19 (1989), 181–188.

⁸¹ „2. Žitije Nauma,” in: *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'menosti*, Hg. P. A. Lavrov, Leningrad 1930, 183.

⁸² MGH Epp. 7, Hg. P. Kehr, Hannover 1928, „Fragmenta registri Johannis VIII papae,” Nr. 15–23 bzw. Epp. Johannis VIII papae, Nr. 201.

⁸³ Schelesniker, *Gedanken*, 183.

⁸⁴ Gemeint ist die Bulle „Gloria in excelsis Deo”, erhalten in der *Methodvita* 8, 157f.

links bzw. östlich der in Ungarn verlaufenden Donau lag, also in einem Raum ohne verbindliche antike Nomenklatur,⁸⁵ befand sich Sventopulks Gebiet in einem Bereich, den man im 9. Jahrhundert sowohl als in *Pannonia* wie auch als in *Dalmatia* gelegen bezeichnen konnte.⁸⁶ Im Jahre 880, als sich die machtpolitische Situation im Karpatenbecken grundlegend geändert hatte, nachdem Sventopulk alle anderen benachbarten Herrschaftsbildungen aufgesogen hatte,⁸⁷ wurde Methodius' Erzbistum nach der Hauptstadt (oder nach dem wichtigsten Teilgebiet?) der neu entstandenen Reichsbildung benannt. *Reverentissimus archiepiscopus sanctae ecclesiae Marabensis* heißt er in der Bulle *Industriae tuae* des Papstes Johannes VIII.,⁸⁸ und der Begriff „Pannonien“ wurde von der päpstlichen Kanzlei im Zusammenhang mit Method bis zu dessen Tode nicht wieder aufgenommen, weil er offensichtlich mittlerweile obsolet geworden war.⁸⁹

Eine völlig andere Konzeption vertritt die um 870 in Salzburg entstandene *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, das „Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche“.⁹⁰ Sie spricht durchgängig nur von einer *Pannonia inferior*, welche das Salzburger Missionsgebiet im Osten umfasste: 796 vertraute Pippin dem Salzburger Erzbischof Arn *partem Pannoniae circa lacum Pelissa [= Plattensee] inferioris* an.⁹¹ Diese Wortwahl könnte implizieren, dass die *Pannonia inferior* auch Gebiete außerhalb des Salzburger Missionsgebietes einschloss, sei es nun im äußersten Nordwesten, jenseits der Raab unter Passauer Jurisdiktion, sei es in dem 796, 803 und 811 durch Schiedssprüche Kaiser Karls endgültig festgelegten Missionsgebiet von Aquileia südlich der Drau.⁹² Tatsächlich stellt sich dazu eine andere Aussage der *Conversio*: *Antiquis enim temporibus ex meridiana parte Danubii in plagis Pannoniae inferioris et circa confines regiones Romani possederunt*.⁹³ Das untere Pannonien sah man also um 870 in Salzburg als ein südliches bzw. rechts der Donau liegendes Teilgebiet Pannoniens an. Das eigene Missionsgebiet, seit etwa 840 identisch mit dem *Dukat* oder der Markgrafschaft des Pribina und seines Sohnes Kocel,⁹⁴ wür-

⁸⁵ Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 101ff.

⁸⁶ Dazu noch weiter unten.

⁸⁷ Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 211ff.

⁸⁸ MGH Epp. 7, Hg. P. Kehr, Hannover 1928, „Epp. Johannis VIII papae,“ Nr. 255. Wahrscheinlich war *Marabensis* das Adjektiv zur Hauptstadt Sventopulks, *Marava* o.ä.

⁸⁹ Zu den Schlüssen, die man hieraus ziehen kann (Umorganisation 879/80), s. Eggers, Erzbistum, 60ff.

⁹⁰ So die Wortwahl von H. Wolfram in seiner *Conversio*-Ausgabe von 1979.

⁹¹ *Conversio* 6, in F. Lošek, Hg., *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg = MGH Studien und Texte 15, Hannover 1997, 110. Es muss hier leider offenbleiben, worauf sich das *inferior* zu Pannonien bezieht, auf den Plattensee oder die Provinz.

⁹² Dieser Frage gingen bisher die meisten Forscher aus dem Wege. Gegen die erste Variante spricht, dass man laut *Conversio* 1, 92, zu Schiff über Lorch entlang des Donautals in die *Pannonia inferior* gelangen konnte, ohne eine Provinzgrenze überschreiten zu müssen.

⁹³ *Conversio* 6, 108.

⁹⁴ Dazu die *Conversio* 11–12, 122ff. Vgl. P. Štíh, „Priwina: Slawischer Fürst oder fränkischer Graf?“ in *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung*, Wien–München 1994, 209–222.

de also nur einen gewissen Teil dieses Unterpannonien umfasst haben; in einem anderen südlich der Drau wäre Aquileia zuständig gewesen. Aus ganz Unterpannonien hätten die „Hunnen“ (worunter natürlich auch die Awaren zu verstehen sind)⁹⁵ einst die Römer, Goten und Gepiden vertrieben.⁹⁶

Wo aber lag für den Verfasser der *Conversio* dann Oberpannonien? Der Begriff als solcher wird in der Schrift nicht verwendet. Zumeist aber sucht man dieses fehlende Oberpannonien in jenem Rest der antiken Provinz *Pannonia*, dessen Missionierung und kirchliche Verwaltung seit einer Entscheidung Ludwigs des Deutschen vom Jahre 829⁹⁷ in die Zuständigkeit des Passauer Bistums fiel, also im Raum zwischen Wienerwald und Raab.⁹⁸ Ein solcher Gebrauch ist jedoch in keiner karolingerzeitlichen Quelle *expressis verbis* nachweisbar. Wäre es möglich, dass die *Conversio* sich Oberpannonien jenseits, also links der Donau dachte, wo sie in *aquilonaris parte Danubii in desertis locis* die früheren Sitze der Hunnen kannte?⁹⁹ Es war dies ja ein von der römischen Provinzialeinteilung nicht erfasster Raum, der in der Antike von sarmatischen Völkern bewohnt worden war. Dagegen blieb der geographische Begriff *Sarmatia* dem weiten Raum nördlich der Karpaten und östlich der an der Weichsel endenden *Germania* vorbehalten.¹⁰⁰ Irritierend wirkt dann allerdings der Gebrauch *Pannonia orientalis* für das Salzburger Missionsgebiet im letzten Kapitel der *Conversio*.¹⁰¹ Als Oberpannonien wird von der gängigen Forschung jedenfalls gerne die Markgrafschaft des seit 871 amtierenden Grafen Aribio bezeichnet, der zwischen den Flüssen Enns und Raab zuständig war, ohne dass diese Bezeichnung irgendwo ausdrücklich belegt wäre.¹⁰²

876 fiel nach dem Tode Ludwigs des Deutschen seinem Sohn Karlmann der Südosten von dessen ehemaligem Reich zu: *Carlomannus sortitus est Baioariam, Pannoniam et Carnutum nec non et regna Sclavorum Behemensium et Marahensium*.¹⁰³ Baiern, Pannonien und Karantanien bildeten mit den slawischen Vasallenreichen in Böhmen und Moravia eine kompakte, von der Residenz Regensburg¹⁰⁴ aus gut zu leitende Einheit, die nominell bis zum Ungarneinfall Bestand hatte.¹⁰⁵ 884 war

⁹⁵ Dazu Tirr, *Bild der Awaren*, *passim*.

⁹⁶ *Conversio* 3, 102 mit Anm. 38.

⁹⁷ „MG DD Ludovici Germanici“, Nr. 173, Hg. P. Kehr, Berlin 1934, 244f.

⁹⁸ Havlík, *Panonie*, 5. Huber, *Begriff Pannonia*, 38. Wolfram, *Karolingerzeit*, 20.

⁹⁹ *Conversio* 6, 110.

¹⁰⁰ Vgl. H. Łowmiański, *Les Slaves et leurs voisins*. Wrocław u.a. 1993, 70–91 („Sarmatie“). Demnächst auch M. Eggers, „Sarmaten“, in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 26 (ersch. 2004).

¹⁰¹ *Conversio* 14, 134. Oder ist hier nur das „im Osten liegende Pannonien“ gemeint?

¹⁰² M. Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*. Wien 1963, 86f. Huber, *Begriff Pannonia*, 41. Mühlberger, *Ostland*, 6. Wolfram, *Karolingerzeit*, 20.

¹⁰³ *Reginonis Chronicon ad 876*, 112.

¹⁰⁴ K. Bosl, „Wirtschaftlich-politische Beziehungen der Residenz- und Fernhandelsstadt Regensburg zum slawischen Osten“, in *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung*, München 1966, 316–325.

¹⁰⁵ Vgl. Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 213f.

jedenfalls Karlmanns Sohn Arnulf derjenige, *qui tunc Pannoniam tenuit*.¹⁰⁶ Doch wurden diese Verhältnisse gewaltsam gestört.

Die sogenannte „Wilhelminerfehde“¹⁰⁷ zwischen 882 und 885 hatte nämlich Pannonien zum Hauptkriegsschauplatz: *Pannonia de Hraba flumine ad orientem tota deleta est*, wie der Regensburger Annalist verzeichnet. Die Streiter der fränkischen Adelssippe der Wilhelminer werden als *Pannonii* bezeichnet, waren also wohl im heutigen Westungarn begütert.¹⁰⁸ Kurz darauf befand sich allerdings die *Pannonia* nicht mehr in ostfränkischem Besitz, sondern von 885 bis 894 in der Hand der Moravljänen Sventopulks.¹⁰⁹ Sodann erhielt überraschend der in *Siscia* residierende ostfränkische Amtsträger Brazlav, der *dux Pannoniae ulterioris*,¹¹⁰ *qui in id tempus regnum inter Dravo et Savo flumine tenuit*,¹¹¹ dieses Territorium, nachdem es 894 den Moravljänen wieder abgenommen worden war: [Arnulf] *Pannoniam cum urbe Paludarum tuendam Brazlavoni duce suo in id tempus commendavit*.¹¹² Brazlav beherrschte also nach der konventionellen Nomenklatur zunächst die *Pannonia superior* südlich der Drau, dann auch für kurze Zeit, nämlich bis zur ungarischen Eroberung Transdanubiens um 900, die *Pannonia inferior* zwischen Drau und Donau.¹¹³

Übrigens deckte sich die karolingerzeitliche Auffassung der *Pannonia* auch nach Westen hin nicht immer mit der römerzeitlichen Idee, sondern zeigte bisweilen eine Bedeutungsgleichheit mit der *Avaria* nach den Awarenkriegen, also mit dem heute niederösterreichischen „Awarenland“ entlang der Donau bis zur Enns.¹¹⁴ So bezeichnet eine Urkunde Ludwigs des Deutschen vom 1. Mai 859 den *fiscus Tullina* als *situs in regione Pannonia*;¹¹⁵ eine weitere Urkunde vom 16. Juni 863 tut desgleichen für den Niederaltaicher Besitz im Ennswald und bei Persenbeug.¹¹⁶ Diese Tradition fand zwei Generationen später eine Fortsetzung bei Regino von Prüm¹¹⁷ und noch später, im 12. Jahrhundert, bei Otto von Freising,¹¹⁸ welche die *marchia orientalis*, die „Ostmark“, mit der *Pannonia superior* gleichsetz-

¹⁰⁶ „Annales Fuldenses Contin. Ratisbon. ad 884,“ 113.

¹⁰⁷ Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 254ff., 263ff. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, 208ff.

¹⁰⁸ „Annales Fuldenses Contin. Ratisbon. ad 884,“ 113: *quibusdam Pannoniorum secum assumptis*.

¹⁰⁹ Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 255ff. Bowlus, *Franks*, 208ff.

¹¹⁰ „Herimanni Augiensis Chronicon ad 892,“ 110.

¹¹¹ „Annales Fuldenses Contin. Ratisbon. ad 884,“ 113.

¹¹² „Annales Fuldenses Contin. Ratisbon. ad 896,“ 130.

¹¹³ Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 247ff. bzw. 259f. und Karte 19.

¹¹⁴ Deér, *Karl der Große*, 744. Sós, *Westungarn*, 15ff. Koller, *Pannonien*, 12. Wolfram, *Conversio*, 103. Mühlberger, *Ostland*, 30f. Zu der niederösterreichischen *Avaria* Eggers, *Großmährisches Reich*, 47ff.

¹¹⁵ „MG DD Ludowici Germanici,“ Nr. 96, Hg. P. Kehr, Berlin 1934, 138f.

¹¹⁶ „MG DD Ludowici Germanici,“ Nr. 109, 156ff.

¹¹⁷ „Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon,“ Hg. F. Kurze = MGH SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 50, Hannover 1890.

¹¹⁸ „Otonis episcopi Frisingensis chronica,“ Hg. A. Hofmeister = MGH SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 45, Hannover-Leipzig 1912.

ten, was möglicherweise die moderne Mittelalter-Forschung bei der Lokalisierung der karolingischen *Pannonia superior* beeinflusst hat.¹¹⁹ So wird der Ort *Omuntesperch*, der in „Pannonien“ gelegen haben soll,¹²⁰ häufig am Ostrand des Wienerwaldes gesucht – in Wirklichkeit befand er sich aber in der Nähe von Pannonhalma (Martinsberg).¹²¹

Die sich bereits im späten 8. und 9. Jahrhundert andeutende Neigung, den Begriff *Pannonia* über die Donau hinweg nach Osten auszudehnen, setzte sich fort in der fränkisch-deutschen Berichterstattung über die Ungarnkriege.¹²² Der Regensburger Kontinuator der fuldischen Annalen lässt einerseits die Ungarn *ultra Danubium* ihre Untaten verüben, andererseits – im selben Zusammenhang und zum selben Tatbestand – teilt er aber mit, dass sie *totam Pannoniam usque ad internationem deleverunt*.¹²³ Das kann sich denn doch nur auf das Gebiet Sventopulks bzw. nach seinem Tode im März 894 auf das seiner Söhne beziehen, da die Ungarn ja zu dieser Zeit mit Kaiser Arnulf – übrigens bis zu seinem Tode im Dezember 899 – verbündet waren.¹²⁴ Es liegt also eine weitere Gleichsetzung von *Pannonia* mit *Moravia* vor.

Bei Regino von Prüm muss sich Pannonien ebenso auf links danubisches Gebiet erstrecken, da nach seiner Aussage die Ungarn noch vor der Überquerung der Donau von Norden her die *Pannoniorum et Avarorum solitudines* durchstreiften. Die *solitudines* wären also wohl die in den Kriegen zwischen Ostfranken und Moravljänen verwüsteten Regionen.¹²⁵ Erzbischof Theotmar von Salzburg dagegen, seinen Diözesaninteressen entsprechend, sieht in einem an Papst Johann IX. gerichteten Brief vom Jahre 900 in dem von den Moravljänen (und den Ungarn, die er aber hier nicht erwähnt) verwüsteten Raum eine *tota Pannonia nostra maxima provintia*,¹²⁶ welche naturgemäß allein südlich der Donau liegen kann, da dies der von Salzburg beanspruchte Raum war.

¹¹⁹ Vgl. dazu Schünemann, *Deutsche in Ungarn*, 134. Koller, *Pannonien*, 8. Bóna, *Verwaltung*, 153. Zu bemerken auch bei Schwarcz, *Pannonien*, 99f.

¹²⁰ „*Annales Fuldenses Contin. Ratisbon. ad 890*,” 118.

¹²¹ László, *Inter Sabariam et Carnuntum*, 148: *Amandhegy* (Amandsberg) östlich der unteren Raab. Schuld an der falschen Lokalisierung trägt die Mitteilung der *Annales Iuvavenses maximi ad ...*, 732: *Karolus perrexit in Pannoniam ultra Omuntendorf*. Beide Orte müssen nicht identisch sein, zudem liegt bei letzterer Ortsangabe keine Konkretisierung im Sinne einer Grenze vor.

¹²² Neuerdings M.G. Kellner, *Die Ungarneinfälle im Bild der Quellen bis 1150*. München 1997.

¹²³ „*Annales Fuldenses, Contin. Ratisbon. ad 894*,” 125.

¹²⁴ Sz. de Vajay, *Der Eintritt des ungarischen Stämmebundes in die europäische Geschichte 862–933*. Mainz 1968, 21ff.

¹²⁵ „*Reginonis Chronicon ad 889*,” 132f.

¹²⁶ Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar, *Conversio*, 152. Vgl. dazu Ch. R. Bowlus, „Archbishop Theotmar of Salzburg's Letter to Pope John IX: A Forgery of Bishop Pilgrim of Passau?” *Südost-Forschungen* 57 (1998), 1–11.

Im 10. Jahrhundert in dieser Bedeutung noch selten belegt,¹²⁷ wurde *Pannonia* allmählich zu dem Synonym schlechthin für das Reich der Ungarn in den Quellen Mittel- und Westeuropas. Widukind von Corvey bemerkt lapidar, dass die Ungarn *Pannoniam postremo inhabitare coeperunt*,¹²⁸ die *Miracula sancti Apri*, dass die türkischen und ugro-finnischen Nomaden *suam olim Pannoniam irruerunt*.¹²⁹ Vor allem nach der Christianisierung Ungarns und der damit verbundenen Aufnahme des Landes in den abendländischen Kulturkreis verstärkte sich diese Tendenz. So schreibt Folcuin von Lobbes um 980 in den *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*: *Gens quaedam ripam insidet Danubii, provinciam quam incolit Pannoniam vocaverunt antiqui, Hungariam autem moderni*.¹³⁰

Anlässlich seines Streites mit dem Salzburger Erzbischof Friedrich, seinem Onkel, um die Diözesanrechte im zu bekehrenden Ungarn um 973/74 verwendete der Bischof Pilgrim von Passau¹³¹ wiederholt die Bezeichnung *Pannonia*, wobei er die Begriffspaare „östliches und westliches“ wie auch „oberes und unteres Pannonien“ heranzog, die sich jeweils entsprechen (*orientalis* = *superior*, *occidentalis* = *inferior*). Pilgrim hatte sich aufgrund seiner Studien im Salzburger Diözesanarchiv seines Onkels in Salzburg einige Kenntnisse über die spätantiken Verhältnisse im südosteuropäischen Nachbarraum des Ostfränkischen Reiches aneignen können, die er nun mehr oder weniger geschickt verarbeitete. Die *Hunia* oder *Avaria* ist für Pilgrim oft ein und dieselbe Größe wie *Pannonia* – aber nicht immer!¹³² Das macht die geographische Interpretation seiner „Fälschungen“ problematisch.¹³³ Pilgrims Pannonien, soweit es für die Passauer Diözese reklamiert wird, verrutscht ganz ausgesprochen nach Osten. Das Passauer Bistum glaubte sich unter Pilgrim (oder schon vorher?) in der *Pannonia superior* zustän-

¹²⁷ So in der Urkunde vom 8. Sept. 903, in der Chorbischof Madalwin seinen Besitz in *Panonia in loco qui dicitur Liliunprunno* dem Bischof Burkhard von Passau vermachte, *Urkundenbuch des Landes ob der Enns*, Bd. 2, Nr. 36, Wien 1856, 49ff.

¹²⁸ „Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres,” I. 18, Hg. P. Hirsch, H. E. Lohmann = MGH SS rer. German. in usum scholarum 60, Hannover 1935, 29.

¹²⁹ „Miracula sancti Apri 22,” in MGH SS 4, Hg. G. Waitz, Hannover 1841, 515–520, hier 517.

¹³⁰ „Folcuini Sithiensis Gesta abbatum Lobensium,” in MGH SS 4, Hg. G. H. Pertz, Hannover 1841, 52–74, hier 65.

¹³¹ E. Dümmler, *Pilgrim von Passau und das Erzbistum Lorch*. Leipzig 1854. W. Lehr, *Pilgrim, Bischof von Passau, und die Lorcher Fälschungen*. Berlin 1909. W. Störmer, *Die Herkunft Bischof Pilgrims von Passau und die Nibelungensage*, in *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 16 (1975), 62–67. F. R. Erkens, „Pilgrim, Bischof von Passau (971–991), *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 34 (1992), 25–37. E. Boshof, „Die Reorganisation des Bistums Passau nach den Ungarnstürmen,” in *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum*, Wien–Weimar 1995, 461–483. M. Eggers, „Die Slawenmission Passaus, Bischof Pilgrim und die Lorcher Fälschungen,” *Südostforschungen* 57 (1998), 13–36.

¹³² Vgl. Lehr, *Pilgrim*, Nr. 2, 32. Zum Umfang dieser *Avaria* Eggers, *Erzbistum des Method*, 23ff. und ders., *Slawenmission Passaus*, 23ff.

¹³³ Zum Fälschungscharakter ausser Dümmler, Pilgrim und W. Lehr, *Pilgrim, Bischof von Passau, und die Lorcher Fälschungen*. Berlin 1909, auch H. Fuhrmann, „Die Fälschungen im Mittelalter,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 197 (1963), 529–601.

dig, wenn auch aufgrund zweifelhafter kirchenrechtlicher Grundlagen,¹³⁴ inspiriert durch die Verwendung des Ausdrucks *Pannonia inferior* in der Salzburger *Conversio*, die Pilgrim mit Sicherheit kannte. Geographisch waren die Aussagen Pilgrims allerdings kaum bestreitbar: Das „obere“ oder „weiter entfernte Pannonien“ lag links der Donau, dort, wo Salzburg keine Ansprüche erhob.¹³⁵ Hinzu kam der Begriff *Mesia*, den Pilgrim anscheinend synonym für das damalige Serbien anwendete und wo er anscheinend ebenfalls tätig werden wollte.

Es wird also deutlich, dass dem in der Antike noch eindeutigen Terminus *Pannonia* im fränkischen Bereich bzw. in seinen Nachfolgestaaten ein zunehmend „schillernder Inhalt“ zukam.¹³⁶ Einerseits noch häufig allein auf den Raum der früheren römischen Provinz bezogen,¹³⁷ konnte er andererseits auch das gesamte Becken der mittleren Donau bezeichnen. Diese Tendenz verstärkte sich hin bis zum austauschbaren Gebrauch von *Pannonia* und *Hungaria* im Hochmittelalter.¹³⁸ Eine Ausnahme machte natürlich Siebenbürgen, das mit zunehmender Kenntnis der geographischen Verhältnisse Ungarns in Westeuropa antikisierend als *Dacia* bezeichnet wurde.

Damit kommt man zu den Nachbarprovinzen Pannoniens, deren Überleben als in Form geographischer Einheiten hier noch kurz angesprochen werden soll, vor allem soweit es die Abgrenzung gegen die *Pannonia* betrifft. Von *Noricum* war schon eingangs die Rede. Soweit erkennbar, verschoben sich die begrifflichen Grenzen allenfalls im Bereich des Donautals auf Kosten *Noricums* vom Wienerwald westwärts bis hin zur Enns.

Die Tradition der Provinz *Dalmatia* blieb, anders als die des benachbarten *Pannonia*, über das Frühmittelalter hinweg bis in die Karolingerzeit und selbst darüber hinaus ungebrochen erhalten. Das mag damit zusammenhängen, dass die unter Augustus um 33 v.Chr. zunächst unter dem Namen *Illyricum* eingerichtete Provinz *Dalmatia* in ihrem Umfang bis zur Völkerwanderungszeit kaum territorialen Veränderungen unterworfen war, abgesehen von der Abtrennung der südlichen *Praevalitana* im 3. Jahrhundert.¹³⁹ *Dalmatia* wurde sogar wieder – zumindest nominell – 870 im alten Territorium als byzantinisches *Thema* eingerich-

¹³⁴ Lehr, Pilgrim; H. Fichtenau, „Zu den Urkundenfälschungen Pilgrims von Passau,“ *Mitteilungen des oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs* 8 (1964), 81–100. E. Boshof, „Das Schreiben der bairischen Bischöfe an einen Papst Johannes – Fälschung Pilgrims?“ in *Papstgeschichte und Landesgeschichte*, Festschrift H. Jakobs, Passau 1995, 37–67. Bowlus, „Archbishop Theotmar,“ 1–11.

¹³⁵ Vgl. Eggers, *Slawenmission Passaus*.

¹³⁶ Deér, *Karl der Große*, 744.

¹³⁷ „Wessobrunner Glossen (Mitte des 9. Jhdts.): *Pannonia. Sic nominatur illa terra meridie Danobia.*“ in E. Herrmann, *Slawisch-germanische Beziehungen im südostdeutschen Raum*, München 1965, 117.

¹³⁸ Etwa bei „Cosmas von Prag, *Chronica Boemorum*,“ III. 42, Hg. B. Bretholz, Berlin 1955, 216, oder „Herimanni Augiensis *Chronicon ad 1042*,“ in MGH SS 5, Hg. G. H. Pertz, Hannover 1844, 67–133, hier 124.

¹³⁹ B. Saria, „*Dalmatia*,“ in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 8, Stuttgart 1956, Sp. 21–59. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 416ff.

tet, wenn auch *de facto* nur noch einige wenige Küstenstädte dieser Verwaltungseinheit angehörten.¹⁴⁰ Der byzantinische Sprachgebrauch bezeichnete mit Dalmatien, den damaligen politischen Ansprüchen Ausdruck verleihend, den Bereich der Adriaküste zwischen Istrien und dem Skutari-See, einschließlich des Hinterlandes bis hin zur Save und Donau. Diese Tradition hielt sich auch unter den Romanen im Lande selbst bis ins 13. Jahrhundert, wie der damals in *Spalato* (Split) schreibende Kleriker Thomas Archidiaconus bezeugt, obwohl sie den politischen Gegebenheiten kaum noch entsprach: *Dalmatia dicebatur olim largius, censebatur enim cum Chrovatia una provintia ... Nunc vero Dalmatia est regio maritima, incipiens ab Epiro, ubi est Dirhachium, et protenditur usque ad sinum Quarnarium.*¹⁴¹

Im fränkischen Bereich stammt die älteste Erwähnung aus der sogenannten „fränkischen Kosmographie“ des 7. Jahrhunderts.¹⁴² Auch der schon erwähnte „Geograph von Ravenna“ kennt ein Jahrhundert später die Provinz: *Postquam Illyricus usque ad provinciam Dalmatia pertinet.*¹⁴³ An der Wende vom 8. zum 9. Jahrhundert erscheint bei Einhard *Dalmatia* in einer Reihe mit *Histria* und *Liburnia* unter den Eroberungen Karls des Großen im Zuge der Awarenkriege.¹⁴⁴ Die Totenklage des Patriarchen Paulinus von Aquileia für den Herzog Erich von Friaul spricht von einem *Dalmatiarum terminus*,¹⁴⁵ wie auch beim *Poeta Saxo* die *Dalmatia* in Gemeinschaft mit *Pannonia*, den *arva Liburnorum* und *Dacia* von Karl dem Großen bezwungen wird.¹⁴⁶ Sein Sohn und Nachfolger Ludwig empfängt eine Gesandtschaft der *Dalmatorum Romanorum et Sclavorum*,¹⁴⁷ was zeigt, dass dem fränkischen Schreiber am Kaiserhof der Existenz zweier verschiedener *nationes* im Raum Dalmatiens durchaus bekannt war.

Um 820 bezeichnen die fränkischen Quellen den Kontrahenten des Fürsten Liudevit von *Siscia*, der, wie erwähnt, in der *Pannonia inferior* herrschte, nämlich den Fürsten Borna, als *dux Dalmatiae atque Liburniae*,¹⁴⁸ das verweist ihn an die Adriaküste. Der sächsische Mönch und „Ketzer“ Gottschalk, der sich erwießenermaßen zeitweilig am Hofe des Kroatenfürsten Trpimir aufhielt,¹⁴⁹ begab sich nach Meinung westfränkischer Annalisten in die *Dalmatia*.¹⁵⁰ Hier zeigt sich eine Identifizierung der antiken *Dalmatia* mit dem frühmittelalterlichen Reich der

¹⁴⁰ J. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*. Venezia 1978.

¹⁴¹ „Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*,“ Bd. 1, Hg. F. Rački = *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 26, Zagreb 1894, 3.

¹⁴² „Versus de Asia et de universi mundi rota,“ in MGH *Poetae latini medii aevi*, 4/2, Nr. 39, Hg. K. Strecker, Berlin 1914, 552.

¹⁴³ *Ravennas Anonymus, Cosmographia*, I. 11, IV. 16, Ed. Schnetz, 10f, 54f.

¹⁴⁴ *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni* 15, 18.

¹⁴⁵ *Versus Paulini de Herico duce* 6, in in MGH *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1880, 131.

¹⁴⁶ *Poeta Saxo* 5, 60.

¹⁴⁷ *Anonymi Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 27, 621.

¹⁴⁸ *Annales regni Francorum ad 821*, 155.

¹⁴⁹ K. Vielhaber, *Gottschalk der Sachse*. Bonn 1956.

¹⁵⁰ *Annales Bertiniani ad 849*, 36. „Prudentii Trecensis *Annales ad 849*,“ in MGH SS 1, Hg. H. G. Pertz, Hannover 1826, 443.

Kroaten, die sich in Quellen deutscher und italienischer Herkunft bis ins Hochmittelalter erhielt.¹⁵¹ Erst mit dem Niedergang der byzantinischen Herrschaft im Bereich der Adria und dem Aufstieg Venedigs seit dem 11. Jahrhundert wurde die Bezeichnung *Dalmatia* auf dessen Eroberungen im Küstenbereich eingeschränkt,¹⁵² ein Geltungsbereich, der sich über das Habsburgerreich hin bis heute erhalten hat. Interessanterweise meint das *Excerptum de Carantanis*, ein Auszug vom Ende des 12. oder Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts aus der *Conversio* von 870, dass der „Slawenapostel“ Methodius *ab Hystrie et Dalmatie partibus* in die pannonischen Missionsgebiete Salzburgs gekommen sei – was entgegen der Meinung der meisten früheren Kommentatoren auch wirklich zutrifft.¹⁵³

Während man sich zur Karolingerzeit über die Grenzpunkte Dalmatiens an der Küste im Klaren war, schwankte die Abgrenzung im Binnenland, also gegen die antike Provinz Pannonien, beträchtlich, da hier keine konkreten Fixpunkte im Gelände mehr vorlagen; die grenzmarkierenden *Ad fines*-Orte waren ja verschwunden. Der Raum zwischen dem dinarischen Gebirgskamm und der Save wurde so, je nach Verfasser, der einen oder anderen Provinz zugerechnet. Die fränkischen Reichsannalen erklärten etwa 822 auch die Serben (*Sorabi*) neben anderen *Slavi* zu Bewohnern Dalmatiens, von dessen Gebiet sie angeblich einen großen Teil einnehmen sollten.¹⁵⁴ Tatsächlich lebten sie aber doch auch auf dem Gebiet der antiken Provinzen *Pannonia* und *Moesia*.¹⁵⁵ Das bosnisch-slawnische Reich des Sventopulk (vor 870) und seiner Vorgänger konnte also in westlichen wie byzantinischen Quellen sowohl in Dalmatien wie auch in Pannonien angesetzt werden.

Im Gegensatz zu Dalmatien und Pannonien war das antike Moesien weitgehend aus dem Gesichtskreis und damit auch aus dem politisch-geographischen Wortschatz der Karolingerzeit verschwunden, da die Karolinger, die sich ja als Rechtsnachfolger des Weströmischen Reiches verstanden,¹⁵⁶ keine Ansprüche auf den Raum östlich der Drina erhoben. *Moesia*, zunächst ab 29 v.Chr. eine Großprovinz südlich der Donau zwischen der Drina und dem Schwarzen Meer, war

¹⁵¹ Katičić, „Die Anfänge“, 305.

¹⁵² R. Cessi, *Italia e Croazia*. Roma 1942, 345ff.

¹⁵³ *Excerptum de Carantanis*, 136 mit Erläuterung 10f.

¹⁵⁴ *Annales regni Francorum ad 822*, 158. s.a. *Annales Fuldenses ad 823*, 22f.

¹⁵⁵ Vgl. R. Novaković, „Još o nekim pitanjima teritorijalnog prostranstva Srbije i hrvatske sredinom X. stoljeća“, *Historijski Zbornik* 19/20 (1966/67), 265–293. Ders., „Još neka razmišljanja o obimu Srbije IX i X veku“, *Zbornik fil. fak. Univ. Beograd* 10/1 (1968), 141–179. Ders., *Gde se nalazila Srbija od VII do XII veka*. Beograd 1981.

¹⁵⁶ Dazu F. Ganshof, „Les relations extérieures de la monarchie franque sous les premiers souverains carolingiens“, *Annali di storia del diritto, rassegna internazionale* 5/6 (1961/62), 1–53. P. Classen, *Karl der Große, das Papsttum und Byzanz*. Düsseldorf 1985. H. H. Anton, „Beobachtungen zum fränkisch-byzantinischen Verhältnis in karolingischer Zeit“, in R. Schieffer, Hg., *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Regnum Francorum*, Sigmaringen 1990, 97–119. F. Tinnefeld, „Formen und Wege des Kontaktes zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen zur Zeit Karls des Großen“, in F. R. Erkens, Hg., *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen*, Berlin 2001, 25–35.

mehrfach unterteilt worden. Schließlich blieb der Name an zwei ziemlich weit auseinander liegenden Gebieten haften: Die *Moesia I* umfasste im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert den Norden des heutigen Serbien, die *Moesia II* den Mittelteil des heutigen bulgarischen Südufers der Donau, beide voneinander getrennt durch die *Dacia mediterranea* und die *Dacia ripensis* (siehe unten).¹⁵⁷

Als rein literarische Reminiszenz ohne aktuelle Bezugnahme erscheint *Moesia* beim Geographen von Ravenna,¹⁵⁸ desgleichen in den um 850 verfassten Epigrammen des Mönches Ermenrich von Ellwangen.¹⁵⁹ Auch die altenglische Bearbeitung der Weltgeschichte des Orosius ist mit Moesien vertraut.¹⁶⁰ Eine konkrete Bezugnahme auf aktuelle Verhältnisse findet sich freilich im Untersuchungszeitraum allein in den *Miracula Sancti Apri* aus dem 10. Jahrhundert, welche über die Ungarn zu berichten wissen: *Quibus nemine resistente ... Misia eversa, Marahensium-que licet gentilium convulsis tabernaculis, suam olim Pannoniam irruerunt.*¹⁶¹ Wenn also diese wie auch spätere Quellen, so etwa Simon de Kéza aus dem ungarischen Bereich¹⁶² und zwei kirchenslawische Schriften aus dem 13. Jahrhundert,¹⁶³ *Moravia* (oder im traditionellen Sprachgebrauch „Großmähren“) mit *Moesia* gleichsetzen, so deutet dies unmissverständlich darauf hin, dass sie es dem südslawischen Bereich in der Nachbarschaft der Bosnier, Serben und Bulgaren zuordnen wollten.

Ebenso wie *Moesia* fand auch die römische *Dacia* nur sehr beschränkten Eingang in die frühmittelalterliche Literatur des Frankenreiches. Das hatte zweifellos denselben Grund wie im Falle Moesiens: Das betreffende Gebiet lag im wesentlichen außerhalb der Interessenzzone der Franken. Die alte römische Provinzialbezeichnung *Dacia* hatte bereits im Altertum eine besonders dramatische Verschiebung des Geltungsbereiches durchgemacht. 107 unter Kaiser Traian als Provinz konstituiert, umfasste *Dacia* zunächst das heutige Siebenbürgen und die westlichen Teile der Walachei; ob auch das Banat hierher oder aber zur *Moesia superior* zu rechnen wäre, blieb bislang ungeklärt. 270 wurde unter Aurelian diese norddanubische *Dacia* aufgegeben und stattdessen, um den Prestigeverlust zu kaschieren, südlich der Donau eine neue *Dacia* eingerichtet. Sie war unterteilt in eine *Dacia mediterranea* und eine *Dacia ripensis*; beide lagen im Grenzbereich zwischen Serbien und Bulgarien.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁷ M. Fluss, „Moesia,“ in *Paulys Realencyclopädie des classischen Altertums*, 15/2, Stuttgart 1932, Sp. 2350–2411. C. Danoff, „Moesia,“ in *Der Kleine Pauly* 3, Stuttgart 1979, Sp. 1386–1388. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, 349ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Ravennas Anonymus, Cosmographia* IV. 6, 7, 47ff.

¹⁵⁹ Herrmann, *Slawisch-germanische Beziehungen*, 110f.

¹⁶⁰ *Altenglischer Orosius*, 18, 61 und Kommentar 201.

¹⁶¹ *Miracula sancti Apri*, 517.

¹⁶² „Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum,“ 32, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* 1, Hg. A. Domanovszky, Budapest 1937, 129–194, hier 166f. Schünemann, *Deutsche in Ungarn*, 453. L. E. Havlík, „Moesie a listy pasovského biskupa Pilgrima,“ *Jižní Morava* 8 (1972), 1–20, hier 8.

¹⁶³ „2. Žitije Nauma,“ in *Materialy po istorii*, 182. Služba Mefodiju 28, ebd., 126.

¹⁶⁴ C. Brandis, „Dacia,“ in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 4/2, Stuttgart 1901, Sp. 1948–1976. C. Daicoviciu, *La Transylvanie dans l'antiquité*. Bucarest 1938. J.

Wie auch im Falle Pannoniens wurde nicht der spätantike, sondern der Zustand des 2. Jahrhunderts in die frühmittelalterliche Nomenklatur tradiert. Dies ist bereits zu beobachten in einer Kosmographie des frühen 5. Jahrhunderts, welche *Dacia* mit dem Zusatz *ubi et Gothia* kommentiert, westlich die *Germania*, östlich die *Alania* angrenzen lässt.¹⁶⁵ Mit den Goten – im 3. bis 5. Jahrhundert hier ansässig¹⁶⁶ – bringt auch die „Fränkische Kosmographie“ aus dem mittleren 7. Jahrhundert die Region *Dacia* in Verbindung,¹⁶⁷ während der zu Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts schreibende „Geograph von Ravenna“ – für spätere Zeiten historisch völlig richtig – Gepiden und Awaren in *Dacien* ansetzt: *Dacia prima et secunda, que et Gipedia appellatur, ubi modo Unni, qui et Avari, inhabitant*.¹⁶⁸

Von fränkischen Quellen der Karolingerzeit wäre zunächst Einhard zu nennen, der bei der Aufzählung der Eroberungen Karls des Großen auch *Pannoniam et adpositam in altera Danubii ripa Daciam* aufführt.¹⁶⁹ Im Gegensatz zu einem anderen, bereits zitierten Abschnitt seines Werkes rechnet er also hier die Theißebene nicht zu Pannonien, sondern zu *Dacien*, womit er vielleicht eine Gleichsetzung mit dem bis zur Theiß oder gar Donau reichenden Gepidenreich vornehmen würde – oder aber er drückt sich einfach geographisch unklar aus. Ebenso erwähnt der *Poeta Saxo* *Dacien* unter Karls Erwerbungen.¹⁷⁰ Dagegen wird die alte Gotengleichung, hierin wohl auf einer spätantiken Vorlage basierend, vom *Liber glossarum* aus dem Regensburger Kloster St. Emmeram wieder aufgenommen; hier heißt es: *Post hanc Dacia ubi et Gothia; deinde Germania*.¹⁷¹ Auch der angelsächsische Bearbeiter des Orosius wusste um den Zusammenhang mit den Goten: *And be eastan Maroara [=Moravia = „Großmähren“] lond is Wisle lond [„Weichsel-land“]. And be eastan thaem sint Datia, tha the iu waeron Gotan*.¹⁷² Eine Erwähnung der *Abodriti qui vulgo Praedenecenti vocantur et contermini Bulgaris Daciam Danubio adjacentem incolunt* in den fränkischen Reichsannalen¹⁷³ ist der einzige weitere Beleg für die Kenntnis *Daciens* in den historisch-geographischen Werken der Karolingerzeit und zeigt, dass man sich die *Dacia* am Karolingerhof als nördlich der Donau, nördlich gegenüber dem seit 680 existierenden Bulgarenreich an der Donau gelegen vorstellte. Eine Abgrenzung der *Dacia* zur *Pannonia* wurde in karolingischen Quellen – vielleicht eben mit Ausnahme Einhards – nie explizit vorgenommen.

Fitz, „Dacia“, in *Der Kleine Pauly* 1, Stuttgart 1979, Sp. 1355–1357. E. Chrysos, „Von der Räumung der Dacia Traiana zur Entstehung der Gothia“, in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 192 (1992), 175–193.

¹⁶⁵ „Cosmographia“, II/1, in *Geographi latini minores*, Hg. A. Riese, Heilbronn 1878, 95.

¹⁶⁶ P. Heather, *The Goths and the Balkans A.D. 350–500*. Oxford 1986.

¹⁶⁷ „Versus de Asia et de universi mundi rota“, in *MGH Poetae latini medii aevi*, 4/2, Nr. 39, Hg. K. Strecker, Berlin 1914, 552.

¹⁶⁸ *Ravennas Anonymus*, *Cosmographia*, I. 11, IV. 14, 10f., 53.

¹⁶⁹ *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni* 15, 18.

¹⁷⁰ *Poeta Saxo* 5, 60.

¹⁷¹ *Liber glossarum*, Codex Clm. 14429, in Herrmann, *Slawisch-germanische Beziehungen*, 118.

¹⁷² *Altenglischer Orosius*, 13.

¹⁷³ *Annales regni Francorum ad 824*, 165.

Über die Voraussetzungen der ungarischen Staatsgründung

ISTVÁN FODOR



Viele Forscher halten es heute noch für ein auffälliges historisches Phänomen, dass die Magyaren als ein vom Osten stammendes Nomadenvolk den christlichen Staat Ungarn hervorbrachten. Ein Grund für dieses Unverständnis liegt in der mangelnden Kenntnis der Vorgeschichte, die in diesem Beitrag in Grundzügen nachgezeichnet werden soll.

Dabei muss als Erstes betont werden, dass das Reich König Stephans in der Geschichte der Ungarn nicht das erste staatsähnliche Gebilde war. Bereits vor der Landnahme um 895 bestand in Osteuropa eine halbnomadische ungarische Staatsform, das sogenannte Doppel-Fürstentum, das unter Einfluss und Mitwirkung der Chazaren entstanden war. So geht aus arabischen Quellen hervor, dass die Ungarn die gleiche halbnomadische „Staatsorganisation“ hatten wie die Chazaren. An der Spitze standen zwei Fürsten, der als *Kende* oder *Kündü* bezeichnete Großfürst und ein Vizefürst, *Gyula*. Die Bezeichnung des Großfürsten, die aus dem türkischen Wort für „Sonne“ stammt, weist auf die Vorstellung von der sakralischen Herkunft des Herrschers hin, die auch im Turken- und Chazarereich allgemein verbreitet war.¹

War die ungarische halbnomadische Staatsform zwar mit dem türkischen und chazarischen Typ vergleichbar, stellte doch wohl keine genaue Kopie dar. Daher rühren die Missverständnisse, aufgrund deren ein Teil der Historiker die Existenz eines Staatsgebildes zur Zeit des Doppelfürstentums in Zweifel zieht. Meiner Meinung nach geben die zeitgenössischen Quellen aber keinen Anlass dazu, diese Tatsache zu bezweifeln. Das im Karpatenbecken eintreffende Ungarntum lebte also nicht in losem Stammesverband, sondern es bestand über den Stämmen eine halbnomadische Staatsorganisation.

¹ Gy. Györffy, „Autour de l'état semi-nomades: le cas de la Hongrie,“ *Études Historiques Hongroises* 1 (1975), 221–237; ders., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Ungarn um die Jahrtausendswende*. Budapest 1983; K. Czeglédy, „A szakrális királyság a steppei népeknél (a kazároknál és a magyaroknál), [Das sakrale Reich an den Steppevölker]“ *Magyar Nyelv* 70 (1974), 11–17; K. Czeglédy, „Árpád és Kurszán (az Árpád-ház megalapításához),“ [Árpád und Kurszán. Zur Grundlage der Árpád-Dynastie] in *A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai*, 140, Hg. I. Szathmári et al. Budapest 1975, 43–58.

Unter den ungarischen und ausländischen Forschern sind einige bis heute der Ansicht, dass sich die Ungarn als ein echtes Nomadenvolk in der Mitte Europas niederließen und die Nomadenwirtschaft östlichen Typs für ein weiteres Jahrhundert bestand. Diese Ansicht ist jedoch nicht mehr zeitgemäß. Es ergibt sich nämlich ein völlig anderes Bild, wenn man die Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 8.-9. Jahrhundert jenes Gebietes untersucht, in dem die Ungarn vor der Landnahme in Osteuropa gelebt haben. In der Don-Gegend war in dieser Periode eine intensive Niederlassung der Nomaden zu beobachten.² Der politische Rahmen dafür wurde vom Chazarischen Khaganat geboten. Das militärische Potenzial der Chasaren hat verhindert, dass sich die Nomaden auf verheerende Streifzüge einließen und förderte die Entstehung von Dörfern, in denen Ackerbau getrieben wurde. In dieser Periode spielte sich in diesem Territorium eine wahrhafte Agrarrevolution ab. Damals verbreiteten sich die schweren Pflüge zum Aufbrechen des bindenden Bodens sowie neuartige Erntegeräte.

Es steht außer Zweifel, dass sich die Ungarn in der Don-Gegend nach dem Jahr 750 dieser Tendenz der Niederlassung nicht entziehen konnten. Eindeutige Beweise dafür liefern in der ungarischen Sprache die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme. Diese Wörter bezeichnen vor allem Ausdrücke im Zusammenhang mit der intensiver gewordenen Viehhaltung, sowie mit dem Ackerbau. Dies belegen auch Ergebnisse archäologischer Forschungen. Die Ähnlichkeit der Struktur der Dorfsiedlungen in der Don-Gegend sowie in Ungarn des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts, die Form der Wohnhäuser und anderer Bauten, aber auch der Fundobjekte ist so frappierend, dass daraus nur eine historische Schlussfolgerungen gezogen werden kann:³ Der Anteil der Ackerbau treibenden Bevölkerung unter den Ungarn, die im Karpatenbecken sesshaft wurden, muss bedeutend gewesen sein und erhöhte sich noch einmal durch den Einfluss der Ackerbau treibenden – meist slawisch sprechende – Bevölkerung, die im Karpatenbecken vorgefunden worden war.

Wichtige Lehren können gezogen werden, wenn man der Frage nachgeht, ob das Karpatenbecken für die nomadische Bewirtschaftung östlichen Typs geeignet ist.

Die nomadische Weidewirtschaft in der Gegend, in der die Ungarn vor der ungarischen Landnahme gelebt haben, ist uns recht gut bekannt. Der Franziskanermönch Johannes de Plano Carpini bereiste zwischen den Jahren 1245 und 1247 das Tatarenreich, und aus seinen Aufzeichnungen geht hervor, dass die einzelnen führenden Personen den südrussischen Flüssen – dem Dnjepr, dem Don, der Wolga und dem Jaik (Ural) – entlang mit riesigen Viehherden umhergezogen sind. Ihre Winterquartiere schlugen sie an den Flussmündungen auf, im Frühjahr zogen sie den Flüssen entlang nach Norden. Wie Plano Carpini formuliert: „... im

² I. Fodor, "Changes in the Hungarian Economy during the Tenth Century," in *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*, ed. K. Papp and J. Barta, Debrecen 2002, 23–26.

³ С. А. Плетнева, *От кочевий к городам. Салтово-маяцкая культура*, МИА 142, Москва 1967, 180–185; В. С. Флеров, *Раннесредневековые юртообразные жилища Восточной Европы*. Москва 1996, 58–60; Fodor, "Changes in the Hungarian Economy," 23–27.

Winter steigen sie zum Meer runter, im Sommer dringen sie entlang der gleichen Strecke die Flüsse folgend bis zu den Bergen vor".

In dieser Gegend nomadisierten bereits ebenso die Skythen, wie später alle hier lebenden Nomadenvölker. Die Steppenweiden trockneten nämlich im Sommer aus, so suchten die Hirten Weideplätze für das Vieh etwas nördlich in der Waldsteppe und Waldzone. So befanden sich das Winter- und das Sommerquartier in unterschiedlicher geographischer Umgebung, und auch im Hinblick auf die klimatischen Verhältnisse gab es große Unterschiede⁴ (Abb. 1). In den Tiefebenebenen beruht das nomadische Weidesystem auf diesem Prinzip. Dieser klimatische Unterschied ist in den Berggegenden zwischen Weideplatz im Tal und im Hochgebirge, auf der Alm, zu beobachten. Die Länge der Weideroute hängt in erster Linie von geographischen Komponenten ab. Bei den Baschkiren betrug ihre Länge 15–80 km, bei den Kirgisen in Mittelasien 120–200 km, bei den Tuwanern 50–60 km, bei den Kasachen, die das Vieh auf trockenen Halbwüsten weiden ließen, betrug diese Entfernung sogar 1,000 km.

Im Karpatenbecken wäre jedoch die auf den osteuropäischen Steppen übliche Form der Nomadisierung den Flüssen entlang unmöglich und überflüssig gewesen. Die jährliche Niederschlagsmenge von 400–600 mm übertraf deutlich die in den östlichen Steppen charakteristische Menge von 100–400 mm. Auch die Verteilung des Niederschlags ist im Karpatenbecken viel regelmäßiger.⁵ Im Gegensatz dazu war der Niederschlag im Osten im Winter in Form von Schnee und im Sommer in Form von heftigen Schauern charakteristisch. Im Osten schmolz der Schnee im Frühjahr bei plötzlichem Temperaturanstieg schnell und floss in die großen Flüsse ab. Ebenso schnell verschwand das Wasser nach den sommerlichen Schauern, wobei der Boden weder in dem einen, noch in dem anderen Fall richtig durchnässt wurde. Im Karpatenbecken gibt es, im Gegensatz zum Osten, zwischen dem unteren und oberen Lauf der Flüsse keine bedeutenden klimatischen Unterschiede, die das Herumtreiben der Viehherden notwendig machen würden. Es genügt darüber hinaus einen Blick auf die Landkarte Ungarns vor der Regulierung der Flüsse im 19. Jahrhundert zu werfen (Abb. 2). Die Flüsse in der Tiefebene verfügten über riesige Überschwemmungsgebiete mit angrenzenden Sümpfen und morastigen Böden.⁶ Es war von vornherein unvorstellbar, hier den Flüssen entlang mit großen Viehherden zu nomadisieren.

Die landnehmenden Ungarn ließen sich – wegen ihrer Lebensweise östlichen Typs – in erster Linie in ebenen und hügeligen Landstrichen nieder in Siebenbürgen beziehungsweise in den Flusstälern. Diese Niederlassungsgebiete lassen sich aufgrund der landnahmezeitlichen archäologischen Fundorte nachvollziehen (Abb. 3). Offensichtlich gab es zwei Hauptansiedlungsgebiete der Ungarn: die

⁴ Gy. Györffy, „A honfoglaló magyarok települési rendjéről," [Über das Siedlungssystem der landnehmenden Ungarn] *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 97 (1970), 192–193; Gy. Györffy, „Système des residences d'hiver et d'été chez les nomades et les chefs Hongroise au Xe siècle," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975), 51–52.

⁵ Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 25–27.

⁶ D. Ihrig, „Bevezetés," [Einführung] in ders., Hg., *A magyar vízszabályozás története*, Budapest 1973, 14.

rund 100,000 Quadratkilometer umfassende Große Tiefebene sowie die Kleine Tiefebene, deren Gebiet ein Zehntel der vorher erwähnten Ebene ausmacht. Entlang der hier verlaufenden Donau, der Theiß und der anderen Flüsse der Umgebung standen die Ufergebiete entweder immer oder zeitweise unter Wasser. Die Archäologen fanden die Siedlungen übrigens nicht auf dem Kamm der Erhöhungen, sondern am Rande der Überschwemmungsgebiete. Es ist ein beachtliches Phänomen, dass sich in der oberen Theißgegend, wo die reichsten landnahmezeitlichen Gräber zum Vorschein gekommen sind, die Fundorte im für den Ackerbau am besten geeigneten Wald- und Wiesenboden befinden. Diese Ansiedlungsweise ist ein Beweis für den Bericht des Ibn Rusta, nach dem die Ungarn zwar nomadisierten, jedoch über ausreichendes Ackerland verfügten. (Dieser Bericht bezog sich vermutlich auf die Situation vor der Landnahme, auf die Jahre um 870.)⁷

Die meist Viehzucht treibenden ungarischen Gemeinschaften legten mit ihrem Vieh keine allzu langen Routen zurück. Sie ließen die Herden im Frühjahr auf den höher gelegenen Weiden grasen, im Sommer, nachdem die Weiden verdorrt waren, trieben sie die Tiere in die Überschwemmungsgebiete, in denen nach der Frühjahrsüberflutung das Gras grün und üppig war. Hier verlief die äußerst kurze Weideroute nicht den Flüssen entlang, sondern vertikal zu ihnen. (Vor den Ungarn ließen sich auch die nomadischen Sarmaten und Awaren im Karpatenbecken nieder und besiedelten Hunderte von Dörfern, in denen auch Ackerbau getrieben wurde. Zahlreiche Dörfer wurden in den letzten Jahrzehnten von den Archäologen freigelegt.) Auch das separate Winter- und Sommerquartier wurde überflüssig, im Winter befanden sich die Herden von nun an in den ständigen Siedlungen.⁸ Die Nomaden bebauten das Feld überall, auch neben dem Winterquartier. Das jetzt zum ständigen Unterkunftsort gewordene Dorf bot jedoch viel günstigere Bedingungen für den Ackerbau. So entstand bereits im 10. Jahrhundert ein ganzes Netz von Bauerndörfern.

Diese Dörfer waren bereits ständige Siedlungen, wobei sie auch manche Elemente der nomadischen Lebensweise in sich vereinten. Neben den Grubenhäusern standen auf Bodenniveau Bauten in Leichtbauweise sowie Filzzelte. Für das Vieh wurden neben den Häusern Pferche errichtet, die umgraben und eingezäunt waren, wie es auf dem Grundriss des Dorfes aus dem 10-11. Jahrhundert, das in Hajdúdorog freigelegt wurde, erkennbar ist (Abb. 3).⁹

In der neuen Heimat im Karpatenbecken hat sich also der Ansiedlungsprozess stark beschleunigt. In der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts wurde die alte Nomadenwirtschaft gewiss nur noch von wenigen getrieben. Zu ihnen gehörten in erster Linie die Gemeinschaften, die am Übergang von Ebene und Bergen lebten. Auf diese Art der Bewirtschaftung in diesem Streifen deuten vermutlich die Ortsnamen hin. Zur zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts stellten die besiedelten

⁷ H. Göckenjan-I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter*. Wiesbaden 2001, 73.

⁸ Györfy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 28-30.

⁹ Fodor "Changes in the Hungarian Economy," 28.

Dörfer die größte wirtschaftliche Stärke des Landes dar. Ihre Existenz war die wichtigste wirtschaftliche Voraussetzung für die Entstehung eines ungarischen „Staates“ europäischen Typs. Die bis zur Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts in fast alle Gegenden Europas unternommenen militärischen Streifzüge trugen nicht zur deutlichen Zunahme der Wirtschaftskraft Ungarns bei. Die Edelmetalle, die in großen Mengen ins Land gelangt sind, befriedigten nur die Prunksucht der an den Streifzügen teilnehmenden Nobilität und deren Gefolges. Außerdem trugen sie zur Blüte der prächtigen ungarischen Goldschmiedekunst bei. Aus den Gräbern dieser hohen Persönlichkeiten kamen bei Ausgrabungen dutzendweise meisterhaft bearbeitete Taschenplatten, reichverzierte Waffen sowie Kleidungs- und Pferdegeschirrbeschläge zum Vorschein.

Den obigen Ausführungen widerspricht ein wenig die These des großen ungarischen Historikers, György Györffy. Er meint nämlich, dass die Mitglieder des Fürstenhauses und die machtvollen führenden Persönlichkeiten im 10. Jahrhundert noch den Flüssen entlang nomadisierten.¹⁰ Die Ortsnamen zeugen tatsächlich davon, dass sie hier über Quartiere verfügten, die sie abwechselnd benutzten, jedoch den Weg nicht zusammen mit dem Vieh zurücklegten. Sie zogen nur mit dem Gefolge umher, um nach dem im Mittelalter verbreiteten Brauch in ihren Herrensitzen die Naturalleistungen zu verzehren.

Die ungarische Glaubenswelt basierte vor dem Christentum auf dem Schamanismus, verbunden mit alten heidnischen Auffassungen. (Die alte ungarische Bezeichnung für den Schamanen lautet *‘táltos’*.)¹¹ So heißt es in einer vor kurzen bekannt gewordenen arabischen Quelle, dass die Ungarn vor der Landnahme den Himmel anbeteten.¹² Der Name des Himmels und des Himmelherrschers lautete bei den Turken *Tengri*. Im Turkenreich war *Tengri* der Hauptgott, sein Kult wurde mit der himmlischen Herkunft des Herrschers, des Khagans verbunden. Der türkische Khagan von himmlischer Herkunft war die bedeutendste Persönlichkeit des weltlichen, aber auch des religiösen Lebens. Eine ähnliche Rolle spielte der chazarische Khagan sowie – der erwähnten arabischen Quelle zufolge – der ungarische *Kende*. Die heidnische ungarische Glaubenswelt soll also nicht mit der Form des Schamanismus gleichgesetzt werden, die heute noch bei den sibirischen und innerasiatischen Völkern zu beobachten ist, sondern mit der kultivierten Religion der östlichen halbnomadischen Staaten.¹³

Für die Existenz des *Tengri*-Kults der Ungarn gibt es auch archäologische Beweise. Die Gestalt des *Tengri* stellten sich die Völker des Chazarischen Khaganats als Reiterfigur vor. Vermutlich wurde er in Form von in Bronze gegossenen, einen Reiter darstellenden Amuletten verewigt. Diese im Osten verbreiteten Darstellungen hinterließen ihre Spuren auch im landnahmezeitlichen archäologi-

¹⁰ Györffy „Système des residences,“ S. 57–153; Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 33.

¹¹ V. Diószegi, „Die Überreste des Schamanismus in der ungarischen Volkskultur,“ *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 7 (1958), 97–137.

¹² Göckenjan–Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, 232–233.

¹³ I. Fodor, „Über die vorchristliche Religion der Altungarn,“ *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 48 (2003), 321–361.

schen Fundbestand. In Tiszasüly und Sárrétudvari kamen Zopfscheiben mit ähnlicher Verzierung ans Tageslicht.¹⁴

Der Schamanismus ist aber in keiner seiner Formen eine dogmatische Religion, er verfügt außerdem über keine Hierarchie, die sich der Staatsorganisation anbieten würde, und er hat ebenfalls nicht die Absicht, die Staatstätigkeit wirksam zu unterstützen. Das ist die Erklärung dafür, warum sich die im 10–11. Jahrhundert festigenden Staatsgebilde nicht auf den Schamanismus, sondern auf die Weltreligionen als ideologische Stütze stützten. (Die Bulgaren an der Wolga wählten den Islam, die Chazaren den Judentum, Kiew und die Staaten auf dem Balkan das byzantinische Christentum, die Tschechen, die Polen, die Kroaten und die Ungarn bekannten sich zum westlichen Christentum.)

Das Christentum war für die Ungarn, sogar als sie noch in Lebedien und dann anschließend im sog. Etelköz (zwischen dem Dnjepr und dem Unterlauf der Donau) lebten, nicht unbekannt. Sie lernten einige Elemente durch byzantinische Missionare kennen,¹⁵ doch blieb für den heidnischen Glauben der Ungarn der im Osten allgemein verbreitete Synkretismus charakteristisch. Das Muster der Taschenplatte von Tiszabezdéd ist ein typisches Beispiel für die Vielfältigkeit ihrer Glaubenswelt (Abb. 6).¹⁶

Die Entwicklung des ungarischen Staates und der Gesellschaft erreichte bis zur Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts allerdings ein so hohes Niveau, dass sich der fürstliche Hof den Weltreligionen zuwandte. Im Jahre 948 ließen sich in Konstantinopel Tormás, ein Enkel oder Urenkel von Árpád, sowie Bulcsu, die dritt wichtigste Persönlichkeit Ungarns (‚karcha‘), taufen. Im Jahre 953 bekannte sich Zsombor, der Herrscher von Siebenbürgen, der den Rang eines Gyula bekleidete, zum byzantinischen Glauben. Der Kaiser von Byzanz entsandte einen griechischen Bischof namens Hierotheos nach „Turkia“ (Ungarn), der aber in Wirklichkeit nur in Siebenbürgen tätig war. Das ist kein Zufall, da in Siebenbürgen eine große Zahl Bulgaren lebte, die sich schon früher zum byzantinischen christlichen Glauben bekannt hatte.¹⁷

Nach der Niederlage im Jahre 955 bei Augsburg ersuchte Fürst Taksony in Rom um Missionare. Die eigentliche Bekehrung begann aber erst 972 während der Herrschaft von Fürst Géza (Geysa). Géza und die meisten führenden Persönlichkeiten wurden durch Bruno von Sankt Gallen getauft. Trotz Ermangelung entsprechender Quellen kann man mit Recht annehmen, dass die Fundamente

¹⁴ Fodor „Über die vorchristliche Religion,“ 343–344.

¹⁵ Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina*, Budapest 1967, 245–259; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*. Budapest 1970, 42–49; A. M. Кузнецова, „Христианство в Венгрии на пороге второго тысячелетия,“ in *Христианство в странах Восточной, Юго-Восточной и Центральной Европы на пороге второго тысячелетия*, Ред. Б. Н. Флоря, Москва 2002, 240–242.

¹⁶ I. Fodor, „Hungarian Cultural History: the early Periods,“ in *A Cultural History of Hungary. From the Beginnings to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. L. Kósa, Budapest 1999, S. 35–39.

¹⁷ Gy. Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai*. [Byzantinische Quellen der ungarischen Geschichte in der Árpád Periode] Budapest 1984, 85–86; Gy. Moravcsik, *Bizánc és a magyarország*. [Byzanz und das Ungarn] Budapest 2003, 53–56.

des Christentums in Ungarn von Fürst Géza geschaffen wurden. Im Jahre 973 entsandte er bereits als christlicher Herrscher seine Vertreter zur Teilnahme am Reichstag von Quedlinburg und schloss mit Kaiser Otto Frieden. Fürst Géza erkannte, dass sein Land und Volk nur bestehen konnte, wenn sie sich den europäischen Normen anpassten. Er brach den Widerstand der Elite, die an den früheren Raubzügen festhalten wollte und eine Vorliebe für die nomadische Lebensweise hatte. Er modernisierte außerdem seine Armee nach westlichem Vorbild und erzog seinen Sohn Vajk (der getauft den Namen Stephan erhielt) zu einem echten christlichen Herrscher. Fürst Géza ist nicht selbst nach Quedlinburg gereist, um dem Schicksal der tschechischen und polnischen Fürsten zu entgehen und zu verhindern, dass er zum Vasallen des deutschen Kaisers gemacht würde. Daraus folgte, dass Stephan (István) die Krone von Papst Silvester II. erhielt und dass das Ungarische Königreich als selbständiger christlicher Staat zustande kommen konnte. Das epochale Werk Fürst Gézas wurde von seinem Sohn, dem später heilig gesprochenen Stephan vollendet: er legte die Grundlagen für die staatliche und kirchliche Organisation und verabschiedete den europäischen Normen entsprechende Gesetze.¹⁸

Die Entstehung des ungarischen christlichen Staates vor 1000 Jahren ist also das Ergebnis eines langen Prozesses, und nicht die Folge eines plötzlichen Entschlusses. Die Voraussetzungen dafür sind lange Zeit in der ungarischen Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft herangereift. Ohne diese früheren Ansätze wäre das Ungarntum nicht fähig gewesen, sich den Völkern der Region einzugliedern, und hätte es ganz gewiss das Schicksal der früher hier lebenden Awaren ereilt. Die moderne Geschichtsschreibung sollte diese Voraussetzungen viel mehr als bisher beachten und diese Geschehnisse nuancierter darstellen.

¹⁸ Gy. Györffy, *König Stephan der Heilige*. Budapest 1988, 61–98.

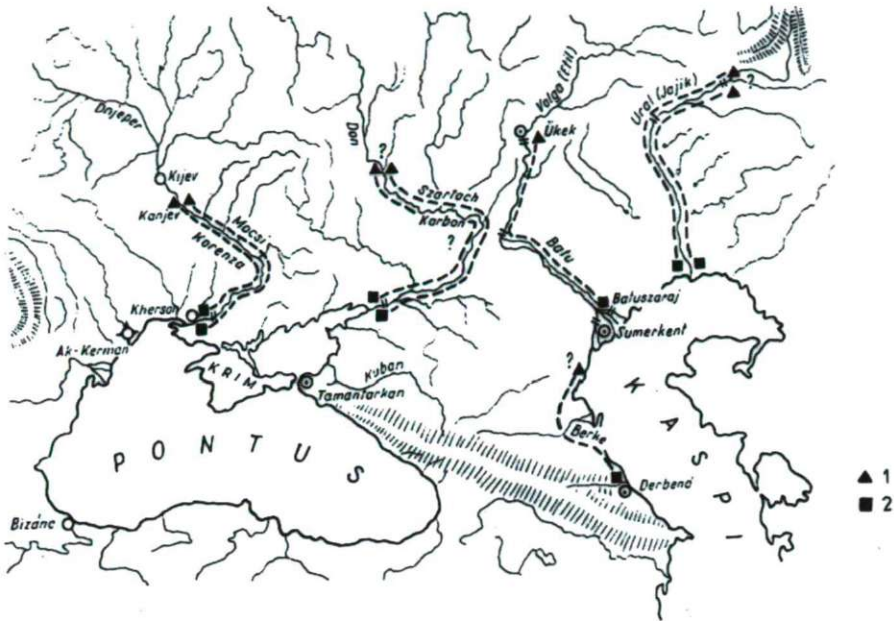


Abb. 1.

Die Nomadisierung der mongolischen Häuptlinge in Südrussland. (Nach Gy. Györffy 1970)
1. Winterquartieren; 2. Sommerquartieren.

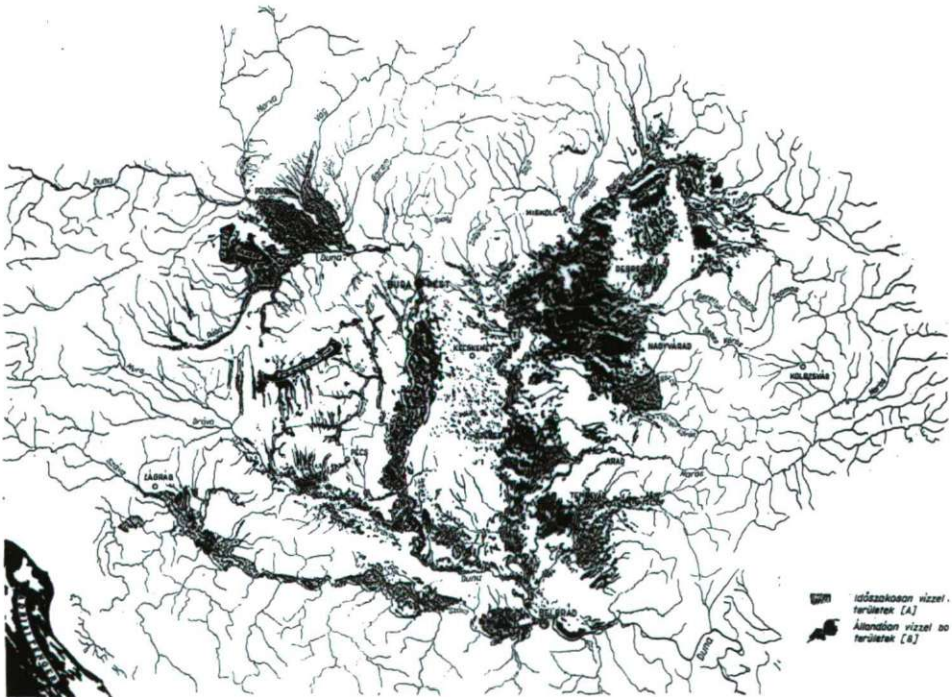


Abb. 2.

Hydrographische Mappe Ungarns vor der Flussregulierung (Nach D. Ihrig 1973).

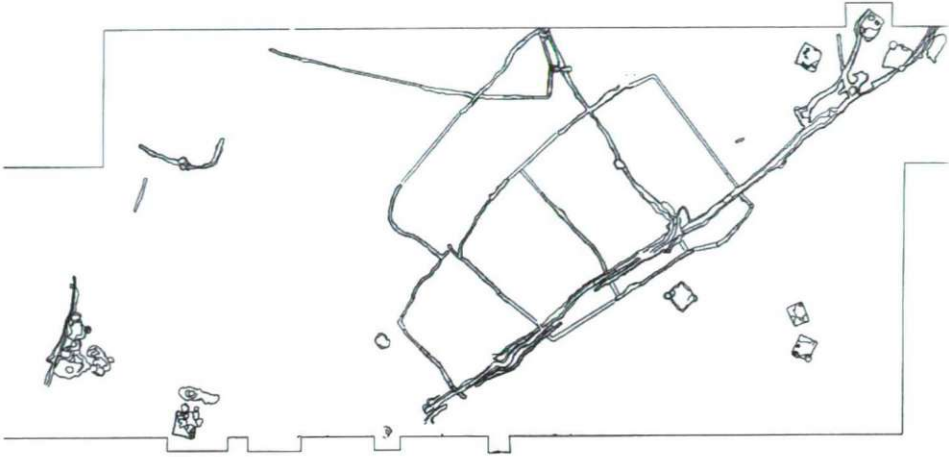


Abb. 3.
Ausgrabungsplan des Dorfes Hajdúdorog-Csárdadomb.

On Two Sources of the Early Bulgarian Christianity

TAMÁS NÓTÁRI



The present paper first highlights the historical background of the process of Christianization Bulgaria, and compares the two main sources of the missionary intentions: the epistle by Phontius and the *Responsa Nicolai Papae I. ad Consulta Bulgarorum*. An outline of the conflict between Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photios evolved on Bulgaria's ecclesiastical affiliation will help to understand how the papacy's attention turned towards the Slavonic mission, and, in this context, the position taken by Methodius towards the Pope, the Byzantine emperor and the Eastern Frankish ruler as well as the Archbishopric of Salzburg and its bishops. The Bulgarians assumed Christianity in the second half of the ninth century, during the reign of khan Boris I. The progress of the missionary work carried out among them faithfully reflects the current conflict between Rome and Byzantium. The Bulgarians, who had a relatively low population, came from a Turk ethnic group, had subjected the Slavonic people to their rule, and settled on the territory of the once Moesia, Scythia, Thracia and Macedonia during the rule of Krum (803–814) and Omurtag (814–831).¹ The proportion of the Christian population that survived the Bulgarian conquest cannot be determined. On the other hand, in order to reinforce his rule Krum already tried rely on the Slavs, who were more open to Christianity, against the Bulgarian boyars. This, however, led to the persecution of the Christians and fierce counter reaction during the reign of his son, Omurtag. Since the Bulgarians were afraid that the Christians would establish too close relations with the neighboring Byzantium having great power. As part of the persecution Christians living on several territories bordering on Byzantium were transferred to the northern parts of the Bulgar lands. Khan Boris (852–889) took further actions to support Christianity. His decision might have been motivated by the following reasons: Firstly, through the clergy loyal to the prince he would be able to influence the population, and the centralized ecclesiastical organization could be instrumental in driving back the Bulgarians; secondly, Christian religion seemed to provide a channel for merging the Slavs and the Bulgarians; thirdly, the Christian ruler's wide power made known to Boris both

¹ S. Runciman, *A History of the first Bulgarian Empire*. London 1930. 1sq. D. Angelov, *Die Entstehung des bulgarischen Volkes*. Berlin 1980. 84sq.

in Byzantium and the Frankish Empire seemed undoubtedly tempting to the khan.²

As he did not want to assign missionary work in his country to the Byzantine Church – by that he would have strengthened the hegemony of the *basileus* – the khan of the Bulgars met Louis the German, Eastern Frankish ruler in 862, in Tulln, and managed to enter into an agreement with him on several points. The Bulgarians would make troops available to the Frankish king against the Moravians, and the Frankish missionaries would begin their missionary work in Bulgaria.³ In 863/64, however, the famine ravaging the Bulgarians made it impossible to implement these plans. In response to the looting carried out by the Bulgarians on the territory of Byzantium, the emperor, Michael III (842–867) dealt Bulgaria a heavy blow both at sea and on land, and forced Khan Boris to unconditional surrender.⁴ In the peace treaty entered into between Byzantium and Bulgaria they determined that Byzantine missionaries would soon begin missionary work among the Bulgarians. As the first step of the Christianization, Boris assumed Christianity in Byzantium in 864. In baptism he was given the name Michael as the godfather's duty was undertaken by Michael III with political implication.⁵ After that Boris forwarded a letter to Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople,⁶ in which he wanted to get answers to his fairly practical questions regarding the missionary work. It is, by all means, worth giving an outline of the content of Photios's aforesaid letter written at the end of 864 or the beginning of 865⁷ and sent to Khan Boris I.⁸ It clearly reveals why the highly educated patriarch's reply letter written at a high theological level did not give sufficient answers to the questions concerning the Bulgarians, and why Boris urged by the dissatisfaction felt over this guidance turned to the Pope with his problems regarding Christian religion and religious life expecting Rome to give help.⁹ The questions

² Dopsch, H.: *Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik – Zu den Hintergründen des Methodios-Konfliktes*. In: *Der heilige Method, Salzburg und die Slawenmission*. Hrsg. v. Th. Piffli-Perčević–A. Stirnemann. Innsbruck–Wien, 1987. 322.

³ Dvorník, F.: *Byzantium, Rome, the Franks, and the Christianisation of the Southern Slavs*. In: *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven 863–1963*. Hrsg. v. M. Hellmann–R. Olesch–B. Stasiewski–F. Zagiba. Graz, 1964. 119; Zagiba, F.: *Die Missionierung der Slaven aus „Welschland“ (Patriarchat Aquileja) im 8. Und 9. Jahrhundert*. In: *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven 863–1963*. Hrsg. v. M. Hellmann–R. Olesch–B. Stasiewski–F. Zagiba. Graz, 1964. 292.

⁴ *Annales Bertiniani a. 866; Annales Fuldenses a. 863*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 1. Hannover 1826; ed. F. Kurze–H. Häfele, MGH SS rer. Germ. Hannover, 1891; Runciman, *Bulgarian Empire*, 104.

⁵ Dopsch 1987, 323.

⁶ See F. Dvorník, "The Patriarch Photius and the Roman Primacy," *Chicago Studies* 2 (1963), 94–107; F. Dvorník, *The Photian Schism*. Cambridge 1948.

⁷ See F. Dvorník, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle*. Paris 1926, 190.

⁸ Photios, "Epist. 8," in *Patrologiae cursus completus*. ed. I.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae* tomi 1–167, Paris, 1857–1876. 102. col. 628–696.

⁹ Dvorník 1964, 121sq.; V. Burr, "Anmerkungen zum Konflikt zwischen Methodius und den bayerischen Bischöfen," in *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums*

addressed by the Bulgarian legation have been lost. The Pope's reply letter (*Responsa Nicolai Papae I. ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, that is, Pope Nicholas I's letter) written in the autumn of 866, however, has been completely preserved.¹⁰ With some effort the questions can be reconstructed from the answers.

Photios's letter consists of one hundred and fourteen chapters, and in terms of its content it can be divided into two main units: a dogmatic¹¹ and a political-didactic¹² part.¹³ At the beginning of the letter, the patriarch first expounds that Christianity stands on a much higher level than heathenism, and to present the essence of Christian teachings he quotes the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, then gives a brief survey of the history of the seven general councils.¹⁴ After this historic detour, he seems to forget that his letter's addressee is a khan recently converted to Christianity who is most probably neither interested in the Byzantine theologians' subtle dogmatic argumentation, which he possibly cannot even understand, nor in need of them at all in the given political situation he is facing.¹⁵ In this part of the letter the patriarch does not fail to emphatically exhort the ruler to be faithful to his decision both to convert himself and to get his people to convert to Christian faith,¹⁶ and cautions him against giving room to heretical deviations. Also he warns him of the dangers that would be brought about if he yet wanted to return to his forefather's faith. As it was customary for neophyte kings in the middle ages, he sets Emperor Constantine to Boris as a role model for a ruler. Furthermore, he exhorts him that his steadfast adherence should be directed to the Byzantine Church, and he should not take any steps towards Roman Christianity, which is referred to by the patriarch in each case with some suspicious detachment.¹⁷

Although the second part of the letter, which we can safely call a didactic, instructive sort of section – it provides guidance of a general nature for Boris and his people on Christian teachings to be followed¹⁸ – mostly lacks any originality, it amply draws on the works of the major representatives of prince's mirror, a genre so rich in Byzantine literature.¹⁹ While writing this peculiar *Fürstenspiegel*,

bei den Slaven 863–1963. Graz 1964, 41; G. Ostrogorsky, *A bizánci állam története*. [A History of Byzantine State] Budapest 2001, 112sqq.

¹⁰ F. A. Norwood, "The Political Pretensions of Pope Nicolas I." *Church History* 15 (1946), 271–285.

¹¹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 1–22.

¹² Photios, "Epist. 8," 23–114.

¹³ I. Dujčev, "Au lendemain de la conversion du peuple Bulgare," in *Medievo Bizantino-Slavo III*. Roma 1971, 108.

¹⁴ J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (802–867)*. London 1912, 338.

¹⁵ J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Konstantinopel I*. Regensburg 1867, 601.

¹⁶ Photios, "Epist. 8," 19.

¹⁷ Dujčev, "Au lendemain de la conversion," 110.

¹⁸ Hergenröther, *Photius*, 602.

¹⁹ See Krumbacher, *K. Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*. München 1897, 456–457; 463–464; 491; K. Emminger, *Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspiegeln I. Zum Andrias basilikos des Nikephoros Blemmydes*. München 1906.

Photios undoubtedly used the sources of the Old and New Testament and certain ecclesiastical authors, but to no less extent can reliance on classical Greek literature be discovered, especially on two speeches attributed to Isocrates (*ad Demonium*, *ad Nicoclea*).²⁰ In his exposition the patriarch reconciles the instructions of classical philosophy and Christian morality to support his exhortation addressed to the recently converted ruler and his people.²¹ He makes the evangelical command of love for God and our fellow men²² the basis of his guidance on the khan's personal conduct of life;²³ and directly in connection with that he calls the addressee's attention to Aristotle's idea of *kalokagathia*.²⁴ He emphasizes the importance of prayer in two chapters,²⁵ and specifically underlines that the ruler's primary obligation is to build churches.²⁶ He repeats *topoi* adopted also by classical philosophy which state that the ruler shall pay attention to his conduct²⁷ and manner of speaking,²⁸ shall avoid needless giggling,²⁹ obscenity,³⁰ cursing and defamatory speech,³¹ and shall be very careful in choosing his friends.³² Whatever he does, the ruler shall premeditate all of his actions,³³ and, if necessary, he shall listen to and accept his advisors' opinion.³⁴ The patriarch does not fail to emphasize that the Christian ruler shall avoid hatred, which is considered a highly heinous sin,³⁵ and fraud even against his enemies;³⁶ he shall make an effort to keep his promises,³⁷ and restrain his temper and anger.³⁸ He exhorts him to be moderate in the affairs of love³⁹ and drinking.⁴⁰ He proposes that he should keep away from unabashed and rakish amusement,⁴¹ and urges him to give thanks only to God for all good and success,⁴² and that he should endeavor to use his talent giv-

²⁰ See K. Emminger *Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspiegeln II. Die spätmittelalterlichen Übersetzung der Demonicea III. Basileou kephalaia parainetika*. München 1913.

²¹ Dujčev, "Au lendemain de la conversion," 111.

²² Matth. 22, 38-40.

²³ Photios, "Epist. 8," 23.

²⁴ Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea* 5, 1, 16. (Ed. I. Bywater. Oxford, 1970.)

²⁵ Photios, "Epist. 8," 25-26.

²⁶ Photios, "Epist. 8," 27.

²⁷ Photios, "Epist. 8," 30.

²⁸ Photios, "Epist. 8," 31.

²⁹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 32.

³⁰ Photios, "Epist. 8," 33.

³¹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 35.

³² Photios, "Epist. 8," 36-37; Dujčev, "Au lendemain de la conversion," 112.

³³ Photios, "Epist. 8," 29; 48.

³⁴ Photios, "Epist. 8," 49.

³⁵ Photios, "Epist. 8," 51-52.

³⁶ Photios, "Epist. 8," 71; 89.

³⁷ Photios, "Epist. 8," 76-77.

³⁸ Photios, "Epist. 8," 84-87.

³⁹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 91-94.

⁴⁰ Photios, "Epist. 8," 95.

⁴¹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 100-101.

⁴² Photios, "Epist. 8," 113.

en by nature for the benefit of his subjects and fellow-men,⁴³ and should not pass judgments on others.⁴⁴

The second part of Photios's exhortation expounds the exercise of the ruler's rights. The patriarch attempts to outline the portrait of an ideal ruler composed of a peculiar mixture of Christian and heathen ideas. Boris shall both live his life in the spirit of Christianity, and as a sovereign he is primarily obliged to take care of his subjects' salvation;⁴⁵ and the subjects' gain in faith will measure and prove the ruler's own virtue.⁴⁶ In the recently converted country the implementation of the model presented by the patriarch must have been utterly helpful for establishing a state organization following the pattern of Byzantine *theokratia* based on the coordinated action of a closely intertwined State and Church. Photios, on the other hand, resolutely marked the limit beyond which the ruler authorized to exercise secular power was not allowed to have any say in the Church's internal affairs.⁴⁷ For the avoidance of any doubt, the letter makes it clear that only harmonized action and cooperation between the State and the Church can create the unity, *homonoia* of a Christian people.⁴⁸ The ruler is obliged to make just amends and administer justice to those who have suffered wrong;⁴⁹ furthermore he shall act resolutely and hard against those who have caused damage to the community, and shall be forbearing and merciful towards those who do harm to his own person.⁵⁰ Strict laws shall be in force in the country; however, the subjects shall be led pursuant to the principles of humanity.⁵¹ Compliance with the laws shall be enforced merely by threatening with sanctions, that is, by raising awareness of the possibility of being punished rather than by punishment.⁵² Excessive rigor shall be by all means avoided; the ruler shall make an effort to win his subjects' benevolence since a government based on that stands on a much safer ground than the one that intends to wring obedience from the people merely by intimidation.⁵³ In the argumentation on the administration of justice, the author of the letter briefly outlines the key attributes of a good judge,⁵⁴ and urges Boris to make efforts to come into possession of them.⁵⁵ Further on, he gives the ruler advice on political realism stressing that he shall not stop keeping armed forces on the alert, because should he fail to do so, he might face a lot of problems and unpleasant

⁴³ Photios, "Epist. 8," 66.

⁴⁴ Photios, "Epist. 8," 68; Dujčev, "Au lendemain de la conversion," 113.

⁴⁵ Photios, "Epist. 8," 19.

⁴⁶ Photios, "Epist. 8," 90.

⁴⁷ Photios, "Epist. 8," 28.

⁴⁸ Photios, "Epist. 8," 27; Dujčev, "Au lendemain de la conversion," 113.

⁴⁹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 34.

⁵⁰ Photios, "Epist. 8," 38.

⁵¹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 42.

⁵² Photios, "Epist. 8," 43.

⁵³ Photios, "Epist. 8," 41.

⁵⁴ Photios, "Epist. 8," 54.

⁵⁵ Photios, "Epist. 8," 59.

surprises.⁵⁶ Internal quarrels and uprisings shall be strictly put down because the victory thereof would threaten the country with falling back to heathenism and the State with being wound up.⁵⁷ No specific advice, however, is given in the Patriarch's letter on actions to be taken in such cases, which makes it probable that the letter was written shortly before the pagan uprising actually taking place in Bulgaria, because it is right to assume that otherwise his guidance regarding this subject area would not stay on the level of mere generality.⁵⁸ The forces instigating hostility and discord shall be hammered into unity, and channeled into action against possible external enemies.⁵⁹

After having outlined the patriarch's letter we can establish that his exhortation and guidance touch on too profound issues senseless and unintelligible for Boris not well-versed in dogmatics, on the one hand; and, as regards everyday religious life, they move too much on the level of generalities, *topoi* taken over from classical and Christian prince's mirror, on the other. Consequently, they do not have any practical use for a ruler who intends to Christianize his country. So it is no wonder that one year after his conversion, in August 866, Boris sent his delegates, his kinsman, Petrus, and two boyars, Iohannes and Martinus to Pope Nicholas I (858–867).⁶⁰ Loaded with rich presents meant to be given to the Pope and the churches of Rome – including the weapons by which Boris had beaten off the recent pagan uprising – they did arrive in Rome. Simultaneously, Boris turned again to Louis the German in a letter, and informed him that after having converted his people to Christian faith he would seek to maintain alliance relation with him, and asked him to provide ecclesiastical books and means necessary for liturgy.⁶¹ The delegacy handing over a letter to the pope which requested answers to his questions and guidance on both the true articles of faith and the most basic issues of everyday Christian life was received by Nicholas I with great pleasure since he saw it as an assurance that the letter sent by Photios had not solved the khan's questions, and had not dispelled his doubts – and that is why now the ruler desired to approach the Roman Church.

The *Responsa Nicolai Papae I. ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, that is, the letter written by Pope Nicholas I in the autumn of 866, has been completely preserved; however, the questions put by the Bulgarians, the *consulta* had been lost. So their number, original form can be deduced only from the Pope's responses. As the Pope's letter divides the responses into one hundred and six chapters, researchers were inclined, perhaps too hastily, to assume that the letter of the Bulgarians consisted of the same number of questions.⁶² Another point that is worth considering is the language of the questions as we cannot preclude that the ruler sent his questions in Greek to the Pope, who was of course familiar with this idiom too. On the oth-

⁵⁶ Photios, "Epist. 8," 104.

⁵⁷ Photios, "Epist. 8," 62.

⁵⁸ Dujčev, "Au lendemain de la conversion," 115.

⁵⁹ Photios, "Epist. 8," 62.

⁶⁰ Dvornik, *Byzantium, Rome, the Franks*, 123sq.

⁶¹ E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches, I–III*. Leipzig 1887–1888, 2: 188.

⁶² Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, 2: 190.

er hand, we may assume that the official translation of the letter was made by Anasthasius Bibliothecarius since in the documents available to us there are several references to his translator's skills and quite accurate translating technique strictly adhering to the original text.⁶³ On the grounds of the above, we can accept the system of questions (*consulta*) reconstructed on the basis of the responses (*responsa*) by Ivan Dujčev,⁶⁴ which counts one hundred and fourteen questions, to which the Pope summed up his responses in one hundred and six chapters. Albeit, the responses lack any system whatsoever, it can be taken for granted that we should not impute this to the pope. He most probably only followed the order of the questions and gave his responses accordingly. The only modification he made was arranging his responses to several questions following each other and deemed coherent in terms of content into a single chapter.⁶⁵ On the other hand, if two or more questions referred to a single subject, and such questions were scattered in the letter, the pope kept to the original order, and at the relevant point only referred back to the question already discussed.⁶⁶ The phrases "*in prima quaestionum vestrarum fronte*", "*praeterea*", "*porro dicitis*" and "*postremo*" occurring in the responses make it probable that the original order of the questions (*consulta*) was adhered to.⁶⁷

After determining the order of the *consulta*, we can make an attempt to systematize the questions in terms of subject matter. As a matter of fact, several questions are related to Christian religion, its everyday practice, the many ways of integrating heathen customs into Christianity, legal order and ecclesiastical organization.⁶⁸ Regarding this subject area, the most cardinal definition of the document is that the ruler's utmost goal is to preserve the unity of faith in his country.⁶⁹ They ask how they should wear the cross; if they could kiss it;⁷⁰ if it is obligatory to receive the sacrament when visiting the church;⁷¹ if those baptized by false priests can be considered Christians, or they should be baptized again;⁷² if they should have repentance for punishing false priests too strictly;⁷³ if severe punishment of the subjects revolting against the ruler can be deemed a sin. (Fifty-two heathen dignitaries rose against the ruler putting ideas of heathenism on their banner, and Boris exterminated them and all their offshoots;⁷⁴ what should

⁶³ "Nicolai I. Papae epistolae," in MGH EE VI. *Karolini aevi* IV. ed. E. Perels, Berlin 1925, 191, 240, 487–488.

⁶⁴ I. Dujčev, "Die Responsa Nicolai Papae I. ad consulta Bulgarorum als Quelle für die bulgarische Geschichte," in *Medievo Bizantino-Slavo* I. Roma 1965, 129.

⁶⁵ See supra, note 63.

⁶⁶ Cf. „Responsa,” 36; 39; 45; 47; 63; 100.

⁶⁷ Dujčev, "Die Responsa Nicolai Papae I." 138.

⁶⁸ Dujčev, "Die Responsa Nicolai Papae I." 139.

⁶⁹ „Responsa,” 106.

⁷⁰ „Responsa,” 7.

⁷¹ „Responsa,” 9.

⁷² „Responsa,” 14–15.

⁷³ „Responsa,” 15–16.

⁷⁴ „Responsa,” 17.

be done with those who refuse Christianity, and remain obstinate to heathenism.⁷⁵⁾

The next group of questions concern worship. What should be done when they cannot completely perform prayer at the military camp?⁷⁶ When sitting at the table, if there is no priest or deacon present, is it allowed to cross oneself, and start eating thereafter?⁷⁷ Is it such a great sin indeed, as the Greeks assert, to pray in the church not with arms crossed on one's chest?⁷⁸ Is it prohibited, again as Greek teachings claim, to appear to receive Holy Communion ungirdled?⁷⁹ In periods of drought, is it allowed to pray for rain and observe fast?⁸⁰ Is it considered a sin indeed, as the Greeks assert, to eat from the meat of an animal killed by a eunuch?⁸¹ Should women stay in the church with covered or uncovered head?⁸² How many times a day should a layman pray?⁸³ When is it prohibited to appear to receive the sacrament? Can someone whose nose or mouth is bleeding receive the sacrament?⁸⁴ How many days after the birth of a child can a woman enter the church?⁸⁵ Should a married priest be expelled or kept?⁸⁶ Is a priest sinful of adultery entitled to administer the sacrament or not?⁸⁷ What should be done when someone receives news of the enemy's attack during prayer, and does not have time to finish the prayer?⁸⁸ What procedure shall be applied against those who have risen against Christianity but are willing to do penance voluntarily, which they have been prohibited to do by the Byzantine priesthood?⁸⁹ Is it deemed a sin when a widow is forced to become a nun?⁹⁰ Is it allowed to pray for parents who deceased as heathens?⁹¹ May a Christian hunt together with a heathen person, and may a Christian eat from the meat of the game so killed together?⁹² Is it allowed to bury suicides, and is it allowed to offer sacrifice for them?⁹³ Is it allowed to bury Christians in the church?⁹⁴ Must those killed in action be brought

⁷⁵ „Responsa,” 41.

⁷⁶ „Responsa,” 38.

⁷⁷ „Responsa,” 53.

⁷⁸ „Responsa,” 54.

⁷⁹ „Responsa,” 55.

⁸⁰ „Responsa,” 56.

⁸¹ „Responsa,” 57.

⁸² „Responsa,” 58.

⁸³ „Responsa,” 61.

⁸⁴ „Responsa,” 65.

⁸⁵ „Responsa,” 68.

⁸⁶ „Responsa,” 70.

⁸⁷ „Responsa,” 71.

⁸⁸ „Responsa,” 74.

⁸⁹ „Responsa,” 78.

⁹⁰ „Responsa,” 87.

⁹¹ „Responsa,” 88.

⁹² „Responsa,” 91.

⁹³ „Responsa,” 98.

⁹⁴ „Responsa,” 99.

home if their parents and comrades want to do so?⁹⁵ Who may be given alms?⁹⁶ Must force be applied against heathens who are reluctant to assume Christianity?⁹⁷ What should be done with the Muslim books they possess?⁹⁸

Several questions concern holidays, ecclesiastical festivals and periods of fast.⁹⁹ Is it allowed to wear the sign of the cross also in Lent,¹⁰⁰ and receive the sacrament every day?¹⁰¹ Is it allowed to perform any work on Saturday and Sunday?¹⁰² On the holidays of which apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins must one refrain from serf's work?¹⁰³ Is it allowed to sit in judgment and pass death sentence on the holidays of the saints and in Lent?¹⁰⁴ Is it allowed to travel or engage in battle on Sundays and holidays and in Lent, of course only when it is required by necessity?¹⁰⁵ Is it allowed to hunt,¹⁰⁶ play games and have amusement,¹⁰⁷ and marry and hold a feast in the period of Lent?¹⁰⁸ What should be done with those who have had sexual intercourse with their wives during Lent?¹⁰⁹ Is it allowed for husband and wife to fulfill their marital obligations on Sunday?¹¹⁰ How many times a year is it allowed to deliver baptism?¹¹¹ During which periods shall one refrain from eating meat;¹¹² is it allowed to eat meat on the day of baptism, and for how many days after christening shall one give up eating meat;¹¹³ and, finally, is it allowed to eat early morning?¹¹⁴

Nonetheless interesting are the questions from which we can indirectly obtain considerable additional information on the ancient religion and beliefs, way of life and legal order of the Bulgarians. The Bulgarians' dynamistic-manistic beliefs,¹¹⁵ that is, the faith in impersonal and mystical vital force abiding in men and animals, most frequently located in the head and carried by the blood, can be de-

⁹⁵ „Responsa,” 100.

⁹⁶ „Responsa,” 101.

⁹⁷ „Responsa,” 102.

⁹⁸ „Responsa,” 103.

⁹⁹ Dujčev, “Die Responsa Nicolai Papae I.” 140.

¹⁰⁰ „Responsa,” 8.

¹⁰¹ „Responsa,” 9.

¹⁰² „Responsa,” 10.

¹⁰³ „Responsa,” 11.

¹⁰⁴ „Responsa,” 12; 45.

¹⁰⁵ „Responsa,” 36; 46.

¹⁰⁶ „Responsa,” 44.

¹⁰⁷ „Responsa,” 47.

¹⁰⁸ „Responsa,” 48.

¹⁰⁹ „Responsa,” 50.

¹¹⁰ „Responsa,” 63.

¹¹¹ „Responsa,” 69.

¹¹² „Responsa,” 4.

¹¹³ „Responsa,” 69.

¹¹⁴ „Responsa,” 60.

¹¹⁵ About manaism see H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism. Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion*. Leiden, 1956. H. J. Rose, “Numen and mana,” *Harvard Theological Review* 44 (1951), 109. H. J. Rose, *Ancient Roman Religion*. London 1948.

duced from the questions whether animals not killed with a knife but simply struck dead may be eaten.¹¹⁶ Most probably the same subject area is addressed by the question inquiring whether they may continue to wear their turban-like headwear spun from linen, deemed prohibited by the Greeks especially in the church;¹¹⁷ and with what should they replace the horsetail used so far in battles as a banner,¹¹⁸ since primitive peoples' attributed *mana* to the tail of certain animals.¹¹⁹ The question regarding a stone endowed with curing effect, found during the period of heathenism might have come from similar ideas too.¹²⁰ According to the *consulta*, eating certain animals and birds was considered taboo;¹²¹ it also concerned taboos when they asked the Pope how long after the birth of a child a woman might not go to church,¹²² and how long their husbands might not have intercourse with them.¹²³ The question whether women are allowed to stay in church with covered or uncovered head¹²⁴ might have come from the tabooistic nature of hair, especially long hair known from several examples.¹²⁵ The issue of sanctioning heathen subjects unwilling to assume Christianity and offering sacrifices to idols – the *Responsa* describes that in certain cases the sacrifice was the first fruits¹²⁶ of the produce¹²⁷ – was raised by the delegacy before the pope.¹²⁸ They also inquired if the ill might continue to wear certain amulets they attributed curing effect to round their neck.¹²⁹

They also put some questions to the pope with regard to the notion of days suitable and unsuitable for fighting and traveling as well as the rituals, magic words and dances related to them; notably, if this practice could be made part of a people's life converted to Christianity,¹³⁰ to which of course the answer was no.¹³¹ In heathen faith, after their death suicides usually become harmful spirits, and to prevent them from returning they were not given the burial in accordance

¹¹⁶ „Responsa,” 91.

¹¹⁷ V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte*. Amsterdam 1981, 358.

¹¹⁸ „Responsa,” 71.

¹¹⁹ Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode*, 359.

¹²⁰ „Responsa,” 62. Cf. H. Vámbéry, *Die primitive Cultur des Turko-tatarischen Volkes*. Leipzig 1879, 249.

¹²¹ „Responsa,” 43.

¹²² „Responsa,” 68.

¹²³ „Responsa,” 64.

¹²⁴ „Responsa,” 58.

¹²⁵ Cf. A. Brelich, „Appunti sul Flamen Dialis,” *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 8 (1972), 17–21; W. Pötscher, „Flamen Dialis,” in *Hellas und Rom*. Hildesheim 1988, 422.

¹²⁶ Cf. M. P. Nielsson, *Primitive Religion*. Tübingen 1911, 71; Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode*, 386.

¹²⁷ „Responsa,” 89.

¹²⁸ „Responsa,” 41.

¹²⁹ „Responsa,” 79. Cf. A. Bertholet, „Amulette und Talismane,” in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Tübingen 1926, 315–317.

¹³⁰ „Responsa,” 34; 35.

¹³¹ Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode*, 382–384.

with customary ceremonies, or, in certain cases, no burial at all. So it was not by chance that one of the questions raised the point whether suicides should be buried, and if any kind of *sacrificium* should be delivered to for them.¹³² They buried those who died by natural death with due tribute to their memory raising a tomb over them; and they brought home the corpses of those killed in action.¹³³ Christian conversion, however, was not able to wind up the ancient religion immediately – the fact that the mission ran into opposition at several places is unambiguously indicated by the occurrence of a pagan revolt shortly before the delegacy was sent, which was put down and the fifty-two dignitaries involved in it were executed by Boris.¹³⁴ This is clearly stated in the *Responsa* too.¹³⁵

At several points the *Responsa* adverts to the Bulgarians' way of life and customary law before Christianity. So, for example, it unanimously reveals that polygamy was a generally accepted custom; otherwise they would not have asked the pope if a man might have two wives at the same time.¹³⁶ It was customary for the fiancé to give the fiancée gold and silver objects, oxen, horses and other valuable goods as dowry before the conclusion of marriage.¹³⁷ After her husband's death a widow was not allowed to marry again, and to prevent that in any case she was forced to live the rest of her life as a nun.¹³⁸ However, it was presumably a generally accepted practice that a man who became a widower married again as the *consulta* includes a question whether this practice might be maintained.¹³⁹ With regard to the items of the *consulta* that supply data on religious beliefs we have already mentioned that the Bulgarians wore a turban-like headgear made of linen.¹⁴⁰ The other typical article of their clothing was *femoralia* presumably similar mostly to trousers, which was worn both by men and women.¹⁴¹ The development of Bulgarian legal order took a decisive turn by assuming Christianity, but the *Responsa* supplies important information on the customary law of the period preceding it. A slave, who escaped from the owner, if caught, was severely punished;¹⁴² a slave slandering his master was treated the same way,¹⁴³ but the sources do not reveal anything else about the actual content of the sanction.¹⁴⁴

¹³² „Responsa,” 98. Cf. R. Hirzel, „Der Selbstmord,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 11 (1908), 75.

¹³³ „Responsa,” 100.

¹³⁴ Runciman, *Bulgarian Empire*, 105.

¹³⁵ „Responsa,” 18. Cf. V. Beševliev, „Zur Frage der slavischen Einsiedlungen im Hinterland von Thessalonike im 10. Jahrhundert,” in *Serta slavica in memoriam A. Schmaus*, hrsg. W. Gesemann, München, 1971, 37–41.

¹³⁶ „Responsa,” 51.

¹³⁷ „Responsa,” 49.

¹³⁸ „Responsa,” 87.

¹³⁹ „Responsa,” 3.

¹⁴⁰ „Responsa,” 66.

¹⁴¹ „Responsa,” 59. Cf. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode*, 396.

¹⁴² „Responsa,” 21.

¹⁴³ „Responsa,” 97.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode*, 414.

Similarly, a free man who fled from his country was severely punished, but the actual sanction is again unknown to us.¹⁴⁵ In this respect it is worth noting that the frontiers of the country were strictly guarded. Guardsmen failing to fulfill their duty and allowing either free men or slaves to flee were punished by death.¹⁴⁶ Death was the punishment of murderers of kinsmen.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, severe, presumably qualified death penalty was imposed on those who murdered their fellow-soldier,¹⁴⁸ or who was caught committing adultery with a strange woman.¹⁴⁹ They sanctioned negligent manslaughter,¹⁵⁰ theft¹⁵¹ – if a subject charged with theft or robbery was unwilling to admit his crime, the judge was allowed to wring confession from him by force¹⁵² – and abduction.¹⁵³ They punished those who castrated others,¹⁵⁴ who brought false charges,¹⁵⁵ and who gave deathly poison to others.¹⁵⁶ Women treating their husband badly, committing adultery and slandering their husband were threatened to be punished by abandonment, also incurred *eo ipso*.¹⁵⁷ Uprising was punished by death, which penalty was inflicted not only on the perpetrators but their families too.¹⁵⁸

Furthermore, there are several highly important questions that concern the ecclesiastical organization: Is it possible to assign a patriarch to the head of the Bulgarian Church?¹⁵⁹ Who shall ordain the patriarch?¹⁶⁰ How many patriarchs are there actually?¹⁶¹ Which patriarch comes right after the pope of Rome in the church hierarchy?¹⁶² And, finally, is it true what the Greeks assert that chrism is made exclusively in their country, and is taken from there everywhere else around the world?¹⁶³ Special attention should be paid to a certain aspect of the question regarding the assignment of the patriarch: Did it manifest Boris's efforts to attain the establishment of a patriarchy for his country,¹⁶⁴ or he simply intended to obtain information on the structure of the ecclesiastical hierarchy?¹⁶⁵

¹⁴⁵ „Responsa,” 20.

¹⁴⁶ „Responsa,” 25.

¹⁴⁷ „Responsa,” 24; 26; 29.

¹⁴⁸ „Responsa,” 27.

¹⁴⁹ „Responsa,” 28.

¹⁵⁰ „Responsa,” 30.

¹⁵¹ „Responsa,” 31.

¹⁵² „Responsa,” 86.

¹⁵³ „Responsa,” 32.

¹⁵⁴ „Responsa,” 52.

¹⁵⁵ „Responsa,” 84.

¹⁵⁶ „Responsa,” 85.

¹⁵⁷ „Responsa,” 96.

¹⁵⁸ „Responsa,” 17.

¹⁵⁹ „Responsa,” 72.

¹⁶⁰ „Responsa,” 73.

¹⁶¹ „Responsa,” 92.

¹⁶² „Responsa,” 93.

¹⁶³ „Responsa,” 94.

¹⁶⁴ Runciman, *Bulgarian Empire*, 110.

¹⁶⁵ Dujčev, „Die Responsa Nicolai Papae I.” 142.

The former option seems to be more probable because by the assignment of the patriarch the Bulgarian Church could have been made completely independent of Byzantium by the ruler, and it would have been much less strictly and closely subjected to the Roman Church.¹⁶⁶ The Pope, however, very diplomatically evaded Boris's request, and not even mentioning the possibility of obtaining the dignity of patriarch he held out the prospect of appointing an archbishop to the head of the Bulgarian Church in the future. As a matter of fact, only in case he received proper report from his delegates on the conditions of Bulgarian Christianity.¹⁶⁷

Simultaneously with his letter and missionary work, Pope Nicholas began to deal with the issue of developing an independent Bulgarian ecclesiastical organization. (In 860, Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, in accordance with the practice generally accepted and applied by the five patriarchs, asked Pope Nicholas to acknowledge his own, somewhat contested election. The pope made the granting of his approval subject to the acknowledgement of the papal claim to the Illyricum and Thessaloniki, that is, almost the whole of the Balkans including Bulgaria.¹⁶⁸ Although until March 862 Photios seemed to be willing to fulfill this claim, at a council held in Rome in 863 the Pope deprived him of his dignity and threatened him with excommunication – presumably he expected Photios's successor, Ignatios to be more permissive regarding the issue of the Balkans.¹⁶⁹) With respect to the Bulgarian mission, Pope Nicholas set out from the conviction that the territory of the Balkans was directly subject to the Pope's supremacy. However, he did not ordain the patriarch requested by Boris to Bulgaria. He merely held out the prospect of setting up an archbishopric independent of Byzantium.¹⁷⁰ Missionary work was commenced by the delegacy sent off to Bulgaria under the leadership of Formosus of Porto, the later pope (891–896), and Paulus of Populonia.¹⁷¹

Louis the German, who was called on by the Bulgarian delegacy in Regensburg, also pledged himself to send missionaries to Bulgaria. However, the preparations took too long, and the Frankish delegation led by Bishop Ermenich of Passau arrived in the Balkans only in the spring 867 where the Roman missionaries getting ahead of them had already begun to convert, preach and baptize.¹⁷² Gravely disappointed in his hopes, Ermenich waited for Louis the German's permission, and returned to Passau.¹⁷³ The conflict that manifested itself regard-

¹⁶⁶ Hergenröther, *Photius*, 2: 650.

¹⁶⁷ Obolensky, D.: *A Bizánci Nemzetközösség (The Byzantine Community of Nations)*. Budapest, 1999. 116.

¹⁶⁸ Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photius," 91sq.

¹⁶⁹ Dopsch, *Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik*, 325.

¹⁷⁰ "Responsa," 72–73.

¹⁷¹ H. Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen. Hadrian II. (867–872) und seine Zeit*. Wien-Köln-Graz 1970, 101sq.

¹⁷² *Annales Fuldenses* a. 866; a. 867; H. Löwe, "Ermenrich von Passau, Gegner des Methodios. Versuch eines Persönlichkeitsbildes," in *Der heilige Method, Salzburg und die Slawenmission* Innsbruck-Wien 1987, 228.

¹⁷³ Dvornik, *Byzantium, Rome, the Franks*, 122.

ing the Bulgarian mission revealed the tensions between the papacy and the Eastern Frankish Empire.¹⁷⁴ Photios, however, was not willing to tolerate Rome's intervention into his sphere of authority; and, therefore, at a Council of Constantinople in 867 he had Pope Nicholas I removed, of which the Pope, who died in the meantime, was not informed.¹⁷⁵ In the same year, however, the assassination of the *basileus*, Michael III and the removal of Photios completely changed the political constellation, and the plans of Pope Nicholas I concerning Bulgaria seemed to attain the stage of implementation after his death. Affairs reached a crisis when Rome did not keep Pope Nicholas's promise to set up an independent Bulgarian archbishopric.¹⁷⁶ Khan Boris turned to Pope Adrian II (867-872) with the request to appoint Formosus Archbishop of Bulgaria, but the pope saying that he could not transfer Formosus as bishop to another diocese did not fulfill the claim.¹⁷⁷ Certainly the actual cause must have been the influence of the anti-Formosus fraction in Rome produced on the pope.¹⁷⁸ A similar thing happened to deacon Marinus, who later became pope (882-884), when he was not appointed to be the Bulgarians' archbishop due to Adrian II's opposition; and deacon Sylvester proposed by the pope to take the archbishop's seat was refused by Khan Boris.¹⁷⁹ Beside personal conflicts, most certainly the pope's reluctance must have been due to the fact that he wanted to keep Rome's direct supremacy over the Balkans, which would have been hugely limited by setting up the archbishopric – that is why the papacy could not reap the fruits of its missionary policy pursued in this region.¹⁸⁰

Disappointed in the Roman Church, Khan Boris turned to Basileios I (867-886) and Patriarch Ignatios, and restored his relations with Byzantium. This was made official by the Council of Constantinople 869/70. At one of the last meetings of the Council – after having expelled the delegates of Rome – Bulgaria was placed under the control of the Patriarchy of Constantinople, and soon Ignatios ordained an archbishop and several bishops for the Bulgarians.¹⁸¹ Boris expelled the Roman missionaries from his country, and Bulgaria – already as an independent archbishopric – resisted Pope John VIII's (872-882) later attempts to win the country back to Rome.¹⁸² In the course of the missionary work commenced during the reign of Khan Boris – just like through the stages of Methodius's fate, who

¹⁷⁴ Dopsch 1987, 326.

¹⁷⁵ Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, 91sqq.

¹⁷⁶ Dopsch 1987, 326.

¹⁷⁷ Z. Kosztolnyik, "Róma és a területi egyház küzdelme a közép Duna-medencében a 9. század folyamán" [Struggle between Rome and the Local Church in Middle-Danube-basin in the ninth century] *Aetas* 12:2-3 (1997), 215.

¹⁷⁸ Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen*, 230sqq.; Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, 2: 192sqq.

¹⁷⁹ Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen*, 209sqq.

¹⁸⁰ Dopsch, *Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik*, 327.

¹⁸¹ M. Eggers: *Das Erzbistum des Method. Lage, Wirkung und Nachleben der kyrillomethodianischen Mission*. München, 1996. 25.

¹⁸² Dopsch, *Slawenmission und päpstliche Politik*, 328.

performed conversion among the Moravians - Bulgaria served as a playground for power politics between Rome and Byzantium, and the Eastern Frankish Empire concurring with each other. However, the Roman Church, setting off with better chances owing to the Bulgarian's fear of the hegemony of Byzantium and thanks to Pope Nicholas I's agility and *Responsa*, in a few years' time lost its advantage gained in this respect because patriarch Ignatios, the successor of Basilios I and Photios was willing to raise Bulgaria to the rank of an independent archbishopric, which Pope Nicholas I and Pope Adrian II were from first to last reluctant to do.

Une monographie sur les Hongrois de la période précédant l'occupation du bassin carpatique

FERENC MAKK



Au printemps 2005 parut l'ouvrage d'István Zimonyi, à tendance monographique, qui traite de l'histoire des Hongrois au IX^e siècle, avant la conquête du bassin des Carpates (895 ap. J.-C.).¹ En s'appuyant sur des sources musulmanes (en turc, en arabe ou en persan), l'auteur s'occupe depuis quelque deux décennies des questions philologiques et historiques liées plus ou moins directement à la préhistoire hongroise. Il témoigne de cette activité une cinquantaine d'études et ses quatre derniers livres. Parmi eux figure sa thèse portant sur les origines de Bulgares de la Volga, soutenue en 1990. Ses œuvres et ses fréquentes interventions aux colloques scientifiques sont suivies avec intérêt par les spécialistes hongrois et étrangers. Il est incontestable – et les événements précédents le prouvent également – que cette nouvelle monographie retiendra l'attention éminente des historiens, des orientalistes et des archéologues². Cela n'est pas sans rapport avec la situation actuelle des recherches sur la préhistoire hongroise, puisque, malgré le fait que – du moins depuis les activités de György Pray et d'István Katona – la préhistoire des Hongrois constitue une période privilégiée des études historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques, une multitude de questions demeurent ouvertes (déballées ou insolubles).

Le livre d'István Zimonyi se compose de deux parties que l'on distingue aisément. La première (pp. 7-49) est de caractère philologique, alors que la deuxième (pp. 50-276) est historique. Voilà qui montre déjà que cette monographie relève avant tout du domaine de l'historien ; elle doit donc être considérée comme un résultat de travaux historiques. Les deux parties sont néanmoins inti-

¹ I. Zimonyi, *Muszlim források a honfoglalás előtti magyarokról. A Ġayhānī-hagyomány magyar fejezete* [Sources musulmanes sur les Hongrois de la période précédant l'occupation du territoire : le chapitre hongrois de la tradition de Ġayhānī], Budapest 2005, 348 p.

² I. Ormos, « A magyar őstörténet arab forrásainak újabb irodalma. Kmoskó Mihály, Hansgerd Göckenjan és Zimonyi István művei » [La nouvelle littérature des sources arabes de la préhistoire hongroise. Les œuvres de Mihály Kmoskó, Hansgerd Göckenjan et István Zimonyi], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 118 (2005), 733-781.

mement liées, puisque les conclusions historiques sont toujours basées sur des résultats philologiques. Dans son étude, l'auteur a poursuivi la haute tradition des études orientales en Hongrie. Il suit la ligne tracée par des prédécesseurs renommés, qui (à l'instar d'Ármin Vámbéry, de Géza Kuun, de Mihály Kmoskó et de Károly Czeglédy) ont non seulement reconnu l'importance des sources musulmanes dans l'étude de la préhistoire hongroise (en ce qui concerne notamment les auteurs et ouvrages constituant la tradition de Ġayhānī, dont la valeur historique égale celle des textes byzantins relatifs à la même période), mais ont aussi soutenu la recherche dans ce domaine par la publication, la traduction et les commentaires de ces textes. Leurs activités étaient toutefois restées incomplètes, car ils publiaient souvent de médiocres versions, et leurs interprétations étaient maintes fois erronées. La principale difficulté lors du dépouillement et de l'exploitation de la tradition de Ġayhānī consiste dans le fait que l'original de l'œuvre de Ġayhānī, c'est-à-dire le texte autographe, est perdu ; certaines parties en ont été conservées dans des ouvrages ultérieurs, bien que sous différentes formes, en arabe, en persan ou en turc. Dans la mise en valeur de la tradition de Ġayhānī, l'historiographie hongroise moderne s'est principalement appuyée sur les traductions et interprétations données par Károly Czeglédy. Cependant, comme le remarque d'ailleurs István Zimonyi (p. 11), Czeglédy a regrettamment failli en omettant de séparer les différentes parties textuelles des sources musulmanes, et – dans sa traduction qui a servi de base aux recherches ultérieures – il a publié les extraits sous forme d'un texte unique, « en masse ». Cela a entraîné jusqu'à nos jours un grand nombre de fausses interprétations³.

A mon avis, le principal résultat de la première partie du livre de Zimonyi consiste en un examen séparé des différentes parties de la tradition de Ġayhānī (avant tout Ibn Rusta, Hudud al-Alam, Gardizi, Al-Bakhri, Marwazi). Suite à une analyse continue et des recherches philologiques approfondies, il a rétabli, phrase après phrase, le texte de base rédigé par Ġayhānī même. Le travail d'István Zimonyi enrichit les études arabes sous de multiples points et même sur le plan international. Il affirme par exemple qu'Ahmad al-Ġayhānī, homme politique et savant de Khorassan, a rédigé son ouvrage géographique de langue arabe (*Kitāb al-masālik wa-l mamālik*, c'est-à-dire *Le livre des chemins et des pays*) dans une première version au cours de la première décennie du Xe siècle, et dans une seconde après 922. Le texte était connu et utilisé à partir des années 940 (p. 19). Dans la constitution du texte du chapitre hongrois de la tradition de Ġayhānī, Zimonyi fut sans doute aidé en grande partie d'une part par le legs Kmoskó (auquel il avait accès depuis quelques années), d'autre part par l'excellente connaissance des résultats des recherches modernes menées en Hongrie et à l'étranger. Ce dernier facteur est prouvé par l'utilisation d'une énorme quantité d'études spécialisées, publiées en plusieurs langues. On doit en même temps reconnaître que Zimonyi a étudié et collationné nombre de manuscrits de la tradition du texte

³ Gy. Györffy, dir., *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról. Kortársak és krónikások híradása*. [Les nouvelles des contemporains et des chroniqueurs, relatives aux ancêtres des Hongrois et à l'occupation du territoire], Budapest, 1958, 84-94. (Rééditions : 1975 et 1986.)

dans sa forme originale. L'auteur a exécuté un remarquable travail de philologue lorsque, après avoir éliminé les parties étrangères aux textes, les interpolations, il a en fait rétabli le texte des 25 paragraphes hongrois dans la/les rédaction(s) de Ğayhānī. A dater d'aujourd'hui, ce texte reconstitué formera la base de toute recherche s'appuyant sur des sources musulmanes dans l'étude de l'histoire des Hongrois du IX^e siècle.

Jusqu'à présent, les spécialistes crurent distinguer plusieurs plans temporels dans le chapitre hongrois de la tradition de Ğayhānī. On a surtout évoqué les IX^e et X^e siècles. D'après l'opinion de Károly Czeglédy, déterminante pour les chercheurs hongrois, la majeure partie du texte est relative à la période 870-880, alors que le reste se rapporte aux Hongrois établis dans le bassin des Carpates et à leur histoire pendant le X^e siècle. Zimonyi a d'une part réussi à extraire les parties qui, quoique comportant des données relatives au IX^e siècle, n'appartiennent pas au texte original, s'agissant d'ajouts ultérieurs. L'auteur a d'autre part circonscrit les interpolations relatives au X^e siècle (au lieu du IX^e). Un des principaux résultats du livre consiste à affirmer que le texte de base des deux versions de l'œuvre de Ğayhānī se rapporte dans tous les cas à la période 870-895 (p. 273). Cette idée de grande portée est en grande partie, comme je le montrerai plus tard, le résultat d'une réflexion d'ordre historique.

Quand il s'agit de textes en langues étrangères, on remarque le véritable connaisseur du texte par sa capacité à en faire des traductions correctes et exactes. Zimonyi en est conscient ; pour cette raison, il a ajouté une traduction au texte rétabli. Au cas où les orientalistes objectifs admettent le texte rétabli par Zimonyi et sa traduction, dans l'avenir, faute de connaissance de l'arabe, du persan (et du turc), les historiens devront également utiliser la version hongroise de Zimonyi. On est en droit de supposer que ce texte ne provoquera pas autant de problèmes d'interprétation que ceux qu'a causés pendant longtemps la traduction de Károly Czeglédy⁴. Je pense que, grâce à Zimonyi, la tradition de Ğayhānī servira de source exacte, solide et sûre aux historiens hongrois, bien mieux que les versions antérieures.

La deuxième et plus importante partie de la thèse porte le titre « Analyse du chapitre hongrois » (pp. 50-276). Dans cette partie *historique* Zimonyi utilise le texte (qu'il a rétabli) comme *source historique* déterminante de l'étude de l'histoire hongroise du dernier quart du IX^e siècle. Nous devons remarquer d'emblée que cette partie abonde en conclusions historiques précieuses, nouvelles ou innovantes. Il est important de souligner que sur la foi de la source musulmane, Zimonyi étudie, sous le signe de la *complexité*, toutes les questions importantes de l'histoire des Hongrois au IX^e siècle.

Pour cette raison, son travail est caractérisé par une thématique très variée, dont le résultat est une vue d'ensemble particulière et cohérente de la période en

⁴ Gy. Kristó (dir.), *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*. [Sources écrites de l'époque de l'occupation du territoire national], avec la collaboration de T. Olajos, I. H. Tóth et I. Zimonyi, Szeged, 1995 (dans la suite : HKÍF), 29-48.

question de l'histoire hongroise. A mon avis, cette vue d'ensemble constitue un des grands mérites de l'ouvrage.

La monographie évoque les questions compliquées des ethnonymes, des soi-disant territoires ancestraux, du mode de vie, de la formation ethnique, de l'organisation militaire, de la vie religieuse, des rapports politiques et de pouvoir ainsi que celle des relations extérieures. Dans le traitement des sources et lors de l'analyse historique, le travail de Zimonyi se caractérise par l'interdisciplinarité. Cela signifie d'une part qu'à côté des sources musulmanes il prend en considération les textes byzantins, latins ou en vieux slave. D'autre part, il essaie toujours de comparer les conclusions historiques aux observations d'autres disciplines (surtout l'archéologie, la linguistique et l'ethnographie). Tout cela fait preuve, de la part de l'auteur, d'une largeur de vue remarquable. Zimonyi analyse les 25 paragraphes de la tradition de Ġayhānī pratiquement phrase après phrase. Il suit par ceci la méthode de Gyula Kristó, qui a procédé de la même manière dans son livre publié en 1980, quand il s'agissait des chapitres concernés de l'œuvre de Constantin, *De administrando imperio* (dans la suite : DAI)⁵. L'auteur ajoute à chaque passage des explications riches, détaillées et, de temps en temps, tout à fait complètes. Ces commentaires éclairent à plusieurs points de vue le sens des différentes parties du texte. Les conclusions relatives à l'histoire hongroise de la période en question ne viennent qu'après.

Par rapport aux Hongrois ou *Magyars*, l'auteur s'occupe d'abord des ethnonymes figurant dans les sources musulmanes (et pas exclusivement dans la tradition de Ġayhānī). Il étudie, l'un après l'autre, les ethnonymes *Magyars*, *Bachkires*, *Sicules* et *Turks*. Son opinion, selon laquelle l'ethnonyme *Magyars* figure le plus souvent dans la tradition de Ġayhānī dans une forme provenant du verbe arabe « hafara » (*creuser*), est très intéressante et tout à fait neuve. D'après lui, cela s'explique par ce que les auteurs arabes ont rapporté les mots étrangers à des noms communs arabes bien connus. Ainsi, en fonction de cette étymologie, le territoire des *Magyars* a reçu le sens de « terre creusée », ou de « pays en déblai ». Le motif de la « terre creusée », présente dans la tradition arabe à propos de la région du Caucase, fut lié par Ġayhānī aux *Magyars* et à leur patrie située à l'est de la Volga (pp. 50-57).

Dans la tradition de Ġayhānī, comme ailleurs, les auteurs utilisaient aussi pour désigner les Hongrois l'ethnonyme *Bachkires*. Zimonyi admet l'opinion d'András Róna-Tas, selon laquelle les Hongrois de la Volga (« de Bachkirie ») furent nommés *Bachkires* par les Bulgares de la Volga au tournant des IX^e-X^e siècles, d'après les *Bachkires* de race turque. Comme les Bulgares de la Volga furent conscients du lien entre les Hongrois de Bachkirie et ceux du bassin des Carpathes, ils appelèrent ces derniers également *Bachkires* (p. 66)⁶. Par rapport à cette conception, je dois évoquer une question, formulée auparavant : comment

⁵ Gy. Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől Szent István államáig* [De la fédération des tribus de Levedi à l'Etat de Saint Etienne], Budapest, 1980, 31-122.

⁶ A. Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép* [Les Hongrois à l'époque de l'occupation du territoire], Budapest, 1996, 224-226.

expliquer la situation singulière qui fit que les Bulgares de la Volga, qui avaient bien connu les Hongrois, ceux-ci constituant leur compagnie supposée au nord, où ils furent d'ailleurs leurs sujets, ont nommé ces derniers d'après un peuple nouveau venu, jusque-là inconnu, les Bachkires ? La règle générale était inverse : le peuple récemment arrivé reçut toujours son nom de l'ancien. (Voir par exemple la désignation des Hongrois en tant que *Scythes*, *Huns*, *Avars*, *Turks*, *Onogours*, etc.) Je pense que, à l'instar des autres liens entre Hongrois et Bachkires, il vaut mieux laisser cette question ouverte⁷.

Le nom des *Sicules* (« *székely* ») est également étudié. Selon Gyula Kristó, cela remonte au nom d'une tribu des Bulgares de la Volga, les *Āskāl* (pron. : *eskel* ; version hongroise : *sicul*), par l'intermédiaire du latin *Siculus*. Zimonyi écarte entièrement cette thèse, en évoquant que la thèse de Kristó fut déjà réfutée, d'une manière convaincante, sur la base de l'histoire de la langue hongroise (p. 63). Il se peut que cela soit ainsi ; il faut néanmoins remarquer que Gyula Kristó, en maintenant sa propre opinion, n'a considéré aucune des réfutations d'ordre linguistique comme convaincante⁸. Il est évident que la solution définitive de la question de l'origine de l'ethnonyme *székely*, ainsi que celle de l'origine des *Sicules* ne pourra résulter que de recherches et débats ultérieurs, qui auront profité des résultats des analyses précédentes.

On sait que les ethnonymes modernes que l'on utilise pour désigner les *Magyars* (par exemple *Venger*, *Hungarian*, *Hongrois*, *Ungarn*) remontent, par l'intermédiaire des formes slaves *ungri* et *ugri*, à l'ethnonyme bulgaro-turc *Onogour*. Les Hongrois furent aussi désignés dans les sources musulmanes sous les différentes variantes du mot *Onogour* (comme par exemple *unquriya*, *unkariya*, *unkuli*, *nuk.rda*). Zimonyi n'attribuant pas un rôle considérable aux *Onogours* dans l'histoire précoce des Hongrois, n'examine guère les raisons qui expliqueraient la désignation des Hongrois par les Slaves sous le nom d'*Onogours*, ou des mots dérivés de cette appellation. Il pose la question de l'explication de l'identité de l'appellation des *Onogours* du bassin des Carpates, sous le chef Kouber, au VII^e siècle, et des Hongrois d'*Etelköz* ou de la période de la conquête (p. 192-193). La réponse à cette question est élégamment évitée. L'auteur, qui connaît trop les problèmes de la préhistoire des Hongrois, se remarque ailleurs aussi par sa tendance, qui l'honore du reste, à ne pas donner des réponses (éventuellement forcées) à toutes les questions abordées.

Zimonyi a cependant formulé une conception entièrement nouvelle par rapport à la fréquente désignation des Hongrois par les sources musulmanes comme *Turks*. D'après les vues les plus répandues aujourd'hui, l'appellation *Turks* peut être ramenée aux relations entre Hongrois et Khazars. Les Hongrois ayant fait partie de l'Empire des Khazars, les sources musulmanes ont utilisé pour les dési-

⁷ F. Makk, « Egy őstörténeti kézikönyv margójára, » [A la marge d'un manuel de préhistoire] *Aetas* 12:2-3 (1997), 169-170.

⁸ Gy. Kristó, *A székelyek eredete* [L'origine des Sicules], Budapest, 2002, 22 ; Gy. Kristó, « A székely népnév első vokálisának milyenségéről » [De la nature de la première vocale de l'ethnonyme Sicule], *Magyar Nyelv* 99:4 (2003), 468-470.

gner le nom de l'ethnie dirigeante de l'empire (*Turcs*). Cet ethnonyme s'en serait aussi répandu plus tard à Byzance et en Occident⁹. Prenant ses distances par rapport à cette interprétation, l'auteur explique le nom *Turks* ou (*Turcs*) des Hongrois par la conception musulmane selon laquelle les Hongrois seraient originaires de la « Terre turque » (le territoire des grandes fédérations de tribus turques), située à l'est de la Volga – pour cette raison, les Hongrois furent aussi considérés comme un peuple turc. Cette appellation fut d'abord utilisée pour les Hongrois vivant à l'est de la Volga (en Bachkirie), et adoptée plus tard pour l'ensemble des Hongrois, dont ceux du bassin des Carpates (pp. 79–81). Le silence sur l'origine khazare de l'ethnonyme *Turks* est aussi remarquable parce que Zimonyi, comme nous allons le voir, attribue aux Khazars un rôle plus important dans l'histoire hongroise que les autres auteurs.

C'est une raison supplémentaire expliquant l'absence de prise de position de Zimonyi sur le nom des *Savards*, nom lié par plusieurs chercheurs aux Khazars. D'après une opinion, le terme *Savarti-Savard*, utilisé par l'empereur byzantin Constantin VII pour désigner les Hongrois, dérive de l'appellation *Sabirs* des Khazars, et peut être considéré comme le résultat des liens fort étroits entre Hongrois et Khazars¹⁰. Selon une autre opinion, l'appellation *Savards* vient des Khazars mêmes, qui ont nommé les Hongrois *Savards* en fonction de leur place dans le système militaire khazar¹¹. De sérieuses critiques ont été formulées à l'encontre de ces deux thèses. Or, il est certain que l'appellation *Savards* attribuée aux Hongrois fait partie de l'histoire hongroise du IX^e siècle. Ceci est incontestablement prouvé, à côté des allusions sans équivoque du DAI, par le nom du chef *Zovárd* (comme ethnonyme personnifié) chez Anonymus et dans les chroniques hongroises, la migration de ce chef dans les Balkans et l'existence du nom clanique et personnel *Zovárd* en Hongrie, au Moyen Âge. On doit y ajouter une donnée datant de 1329, sur les « Hongrois d'Asie », qui figurent dans une bulle papale en tant que peuple des environs du Caucase. Ces Hongrois d'Asie furent les descendants des Hongrois-Savards, migrant de Khazarie en Perse¹². Il faut en même temps reconnaître que les auteurs musulmans n'ont pas utilisé l'ethnonyme *Savards* pour désigner les Hongrois. Au vu de tout ceci, on comprend pourquoi l'auteur s'abstient d'analyser l'ethnonyme *Savards*.

Les chercheurs se sont déjà occupés, à propos de la tradition de Ġayhānī, de la question assez compliquée des « patries ancestrales » (quartiers) des Hongrois. Sur ce point, des vues fortement différentes se sont formulées. Par exemple, Mihály Kmoskó a pensé que la tradition de Ġayhānī parlait de trois patries, la première se trouvant à l'est de la Volga, la deuxième au nord de la Mer Noire et

⁹ Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarorság kialakulása* [La formation du peuple Hongrois conquérant], édité par Á. Berta, Budapest, 1991, 160–161 ; Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, 217.

¹⁰ Voir à ce sujet par exemple Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarorság*, 155 et 162 ; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the ninth Century*, Szeged, 1996, 129–131.

¹¹ Á. Berta, « Die chasarische Benennung der Ungarn, » in *Festgabe an Josef Matuz*. Hrsg. Ch. Fragner und K. Schwarz, Berlin, 1992, 7–11.

¹² Sur ce sujet et pour la bibliographie, voir Makk, « Egy őstörténeti kézikönyv » 178.

la troisième dans le Bassin des Carpates. D'après certains, on trouve dans la tradition de Ġayhānī quatre patries. La première est située à l'est de la Volga, la deuxième au nord de la Mer Noire (Levédie), la troisième correspondant à Etelköz et la quatrième se trouvant dans le Bassin des Carpates. Contrairement à tout cela (si je comprends bien), Zimonyi propose, sur la base de la tradition de Ġayhānī, de retenir seulement deux patries hongroises : celle située à l'est de la Volga (la Bachkirie) et le quartier se trouvant au nord de la Mer Noire. Quant à la première, le frère dominicain Julien y a retrouvé, au tournant des années 1235-1236, les Hongrois de l'est. D'après Zimonyi, on ne peut pas déterminer si ces Hongrois de l'est, en tant que descendants d'une partie des Hongrois, avaient vécu depuis toujours dans la région de la Volga-Kama, ou s'étaient installés en Bachkirie ultérieurement, au plus tard à la fin du IX^e siècle, en compagnie des Bulgares de la Volga (pp. 32-33 et 67).

Zimonyi exprime son opinion par rapport à la patrie qui figure dans la tradition de Ġayhānī comme le seul quartier autonome de *tous* les Hongrois avant la conquête du bassin des Carpates. Ce territoire se situe au nord de la Mer Noire, et figure dans le DAI sous le nom d'*Etelköz* (qui n'est guère utilisé par la tradition de Ġayhānī). Selon Zimonyi, Etelköz est le territoire se situant entre le Bas-Danube et le Dniepr, et une rivière plus petit, inconnue, à l'est du Dniepr (peut-être la Moločnaya) (pp. 152 et 209-215). C'est effectivement une sorte de compromis, qui procède du recouplement des données géographiques minutieusement analysées de la tradition de Ġayhānī et de la source byzantine (le DAI). Contestant une autre opinion, l'auteur écarte entièrement, preuves à l'appui, la thèse selon laquelle la région du Don aurait été un quartier des Hongrois avant la conquête du bassin des Carpates. En ce qui concerne l'établissement de la frontière sud-est de la patrie d'Etelköz, l'auteur attribue une grande importance au rôle remarquable de l'Empire khazar dans le commerce des Hongrois. Suivant Lajos Ligeti, István Zimonyi donne une explication de l'appellation Etelköz. Selon celle-ci, le nom de rivière Ätil, désignant initialement la Volga, fut emprunté par les Hongrois aux Khazars. Il revêtit dans le hongrois la forme Etel avant le milieu du X^e siècle. Cependant le terme khazar Ätil eut aussi un sens commun en tant que « rivière », « fleuve », et c'est le sens qui figure dans l'appellation Etelköz, à côté du mot *köz*, d'origine finno-ougrienne. Ainsi le sens d'Etelköz est « entre-rivières » (en hongrois d'aujourd'hui : *Folyóköz*, cf. la *Mésopotamie*), bien que ce nom ne soit employé nulle part par Zimonyi. Il appartient encore à ce domaine la tentative de l'auteur pour préciser l'emplacement des quartiers de six tribus hongroises d'Etelköz (donc il ne s'agit pas de toutes les tribus !), sur la base d'analogies petchenègues et cumanes ultérieures (pp. 210-215). Faute de données concrètes dans les sources, sa conception demeure pourtant une hypothèse possible et riche en enseignements. Zimonyi expose une opinion fort intéressante sur la probable installation des Hongrois en Etelköz. Selon celle-ci, les Hongrois ont vécu en Etelköz non seulement au cours de tout le IX^e siècle, mais aussi auparavant, sous domination khazare (pp. 320-324). Il me paraît cependant qu'aucune donnée ne prouve l'établissement des Hongrois en Etelköz *avant* le IX^e siècle. Je sais bien que Zimonyi ne pouvait pas se charger de l'étude de toute la préhistoire hongroise, mais je

dois mentionner que même ses intervalles considérables ne lui donnèrent l'occasion d'évoquer le temps et le lieu de la *Levédie*. Il est vrai que l'appellation *Levédie* ne figure point dans les sources musulmanes. L'auteur a tout de même tenté de préciser les rapports de grandeur d'Etelköz : ce territoire est comparable au pays des Bulgares du Danube, et plus grand que le quartier central des Khazars au Xe siècle (p. 152).

Utilisant les données de la tradition de Ġayhānī relatives aux peuples de l'Europe de l'Est, Zimonyi s'occupe en détails du mode de vie des Hongrois d'Etelköz, qui est naturellement semblable aux méthodes agricoles des Hongrois de l'époque de la conquête. On sait que de grands débats avaient et ont encore lieu sur cette question entre les partisans des conceptions nomade, semi-nomade et sédentaire. Se basant, entre autres, sur l'opinion d'András Róna-Tas¹³, l'auteur affirme que le mode de vie des Hongrois de l'époque fut varié, de caractère *mixte*. D'après lui, les ancêtres des Hongrois d'aujourd'hui disposaient, à côté de l'élevage nomade de steppe, et dès avant les VIII^e-IX^e siècles, d'un haut niveau de culture des terres, sur la steppe boisée et dans la zone des forêts. Dans leurs quartiers d'hiver, ils s'occupèrent de la pêche. La traite des esclaves, principale source de leur richesse exceptionnelle, fut réalisée avec Byzance. En tant qu'analogie, Zimonyi évoque les Scythes des VI^e-V^e siècles av. J.-C., chez Hérodote, parmi lesquels se trouvèrent, en même temps, au nord de la Mer Noire, des groupes nomades et sédentaires ou agriculteurs/cultivateurs (p. 138-140 et 275).

Cette théorie a été développée par l'auteur d'après les données de la tradition de Ġayhānī, et de certains résultats de l'histoire des langues, de l'archéologie et de l'ethnographie. La tradition de Ġayhānī évoque des données convaincantes sur le nomadisme. Selon celles-ci, les Hongrois sont « un peuple habitant sous des tentes. Ils se déplacent en suivant l'herbe fraîche et abondante » (p. 107). Cependant, en ce qui concerne la culture des terres chez les Hongrois, elle se limite à mentionner qu'ils « ont des champs labourables ». Ce passage d'Ibn Rusta avait été traduit auparavant d'une manière différente par Zimonyi même : les Hongrois « ont beaucoup de champs labourables ». En considérant des points de vue philologiques, le terme *beaucoup* est cette fois omis¹⁴. A mon avis, cela affaiblit la thèse de la large diffusion de la culture des terres. Chez des peuples de l'Europe de l'Est, dont la tradition de Ġayhānī mentionne les terres labourables ou l'agriculture, la source musulmane fait aussi allusion à d'autres facteurs, qui sont évidemment les preuves de la culture des champs et d'un mode de vie sédentaire (comme les maisons, les villages, les villes, les fortifications, les céréales, l'élevage des porcs, etc.). Pourtant, en ce qui concerne les Hongrois, le texte musulman n'en évoque aucun ! C'est sans doute en rapport avec le caractère fort *modeste* de l'agriculture. Quant à la linguistique, Zimonyi se réfère aux mots hongrois empruntés aux Turcs, comme le blé, l'orge, la charrue, la faucille, le porc, la poule, etc. (*búza, árpa, eke, sarló, disznó, tyúk*). Selon lui, ceux-ci justifient l'existence d'une agriculture développée et de l'élevage intensif (p. 131-136). Pourtant, en ce qui

¹³ Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, 284.

¹⁴ HKÍF, 33.

concerne les mots empruntés aux Turcs, la chronologie pose encore nombre de problèmes ; l'ensemble ou une partie des termes en question a pu être emprunté, dans le bassin des Carpathes, aux Kavars ou aux Onogours vivant déjà sur ce territoire, comme peuples turcs¹⁵. On ne peut donc s'y référer. Une des tâches principales de la turcologie en Hongrie consiste justement à définir la période où ces mots turcs ont été empruntés. Zimonyi utilise une thèse de l'archéologie, selon laquelle la culture (de caractère agricole) de Saltovo-Mayackoye, s'affirmant du VIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du X^e même sur le territoire d'Etelköz, a fortement influencé les Hongrois qui y vécurent, et les obligea à s'installer et à cultiver les terres. Je dois pourtant remarquer que l'on ne connaît point la durée du passage des Hongrois en Etelköz. On ne peut donc établir l'intervalle nécessaire à l'accomplissement de « l'influence » supposée. Comme Gyula Kristó l'a déjà mentionné, il est bien plus important de savoir que la culture de Saltovo-Mayackoye, en vigueur jusqu'à la fin du X^e siècle, n'a exercé aucune influence sur les Petchenègues, ayant envahi, entre autres, le territoire d'Etelköz à la fin du IX^e siècle¹⁶. Et si tel était le cas, pourquoi aurait-elle dû exercer une influence quelconque sur les Hongrois nomades ? Quant aux résultats de l'ethnographie, l'auteur évoque l'opinion des spécialistes, selon laquelle les analogies entre les ossements d'animaux de Saltovo-Mayackoye et ceux des Hongrois, datant de la période suivant la conquête du bassin des Carpathes, sont très nombreuses. A mon avis, cela ne prouve rien, puisque, malgré tous les efforts, les trouvailles de Saltovo-Mayackoye ne se rapportent pas directement aux Hongrois ! Le plus grand problème provient du fait qu'au cours de l'examen des résultats de la période suivant l'occupation du territoire, les chercheurs mêlent des données provenant de plusieurs siècles (par exemple Tiszalök-Rázompusztá, XI^e-XIII^e siècles ; Kardoskút, X^e-XII^e siècles). Dans le cas de Felgyő, on n'arrive guère à isoler les ossements de la période de la migration des peuples de ceux datant de la période suivant la conquête¹⁷. La justification ne serait possible qu'à l'aide de vestiges datant de 900 environ ; actuellement, on n'en dispose point. Dans le cas des fouilles dont le matériel est daté du X^e siècle (tout court), on doit absolument distinguer, comme d'autres l'ont déjà mentionné, celles datant du début, du milieu et de la fin du siècle.

L'analogie scythe est très théorique. D'une part, la question du nomadisme et de l'agriculture se pose dans le cas des deux peuples ; d'autre part, les Scythes et

¹⁵ Sur tout ceci, voir: L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* [Les relations entre les langues turque et hongroise avant l'occupation du territoire et au temps des Árpád] Budapest 1986, 533 ; Gy. Kristó, *A magyar állam megszületése*. [La naissance de l'Etat hongrois] Szeged 1995, 194-198. Sur l'emprunt des mots turcs (avars, onogours) dans le bassin des Carpathes, voir Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, 101-102, 254, 276, 303. Sur l'importance théorique de ce phénomène linguistique, voir les indications de B. Csanád, « Az ethnosz a kora középkorban » [L'ethnos au Haut Moyen Age] *Századok* 140 (2006), 295.

¹⁶ Kristó, *A magyar állam megszületése*, 200-201.

¹⁷ I. Vörös, « Adatok az Árpád-kori állattartás történetéhez » [Données servant à l'histoire d'élevage au temps des Árpád], in: L. Bende-G. Lőrinczy, (dir.), *A középkori magyar agrárium*, Ópusztaszer 2000, 73-76.

les Hongrois habitèrent à peu près le même territoire, c'est-à-dire les steppes au nord de la Mer Noire. Bien que j'aie lu Hérodote dans sa version originale, je ne connais pas l'histoire des Scythes. Pourtant, certaines remarques s'imposent. Tout d'abord, chez Hérodote, on ne parle pas de deux types de Scythes (nomades et sédentaires), mais de quatre : nomades, sédentaires (agricoles), royaux et agricoles-commerçants. Cette répartition n'est pas analogue à celle des Hongrois. Peut-être il est plus important la différence entre les « aires de vie » (emplacements) des deux populations. Sur la terre des Hongrois, les nomades vivent dans les régions sud (sur la steppe, du côté de la Mer Noire), alors que les populations agricoles sont dans la zone des forêts, située plus au nord. Chez les Scythes, les populations agricoles habitèrent à l'ouest du Dniepr, alors que les nomades à l'est¹⁸. Comment peut-on expliquer que sur les parties occidentales de la terre des Scythes, où ce peuple avait mené, selon Hérodote, un mode de vie agricole (uni), les Hongrois connurent au sud une mode de vie nomade, et au nord un mode vie prétendument agraire ? Cette contradiction aurait mérité un peu plus d'attention. Curieusement, Zimonyi distingue les Hongrois menant différents modes de vie sur la base de critères *géographiques*, au lieu des différences ethniques ou sociales. Il n'évoque pas clairement la hiérarchie sociale chez les nomades et au sein de la population agricole hongroise.

Tout cela montre que je représente une position différente de celle d'István Zimonyi. Pour moi, la relation faite par l'historien maure Ibn Hayyan sur les Hongrois de l'année 942 et sur leur nomadisme est, entre autres, d'une importance fondamentale. Selon celle-ci, les Hongrois « sont près du fleuve Danube, et sont nomades comme les Bédouins. Ils n'ont ni villes, ni maisons ; ils habitent sous des tentes en feutre, dans des campements dispersés.¹⁹ » Je reconnais pourtant que plusieurs thèses scientifiques peuvent coexister par rapport à la question tant débattue et très importante du mode de vie des Hongrois. La conception de Zimonyi doit naturellement y figurer. Le dernier mot reviendra aux recherches à venir, après l'établissement d'une chronologie précise.

La monographie parle en détail des relations politiques intérieures des Hongrois avant la conquête du bassin des Carpates et de leurs relations extérieures ou internationales. A ce propos, Zimonyi formule de nombreuses idées intéressantes et précieuses. Il étudie l'évolution des rapports intérieurs et extérieurs dans le contexte de leurs correspondances. Il s'occupe à fond de l'histoire des contacts entre les Hongrois d'une part et les Slaves et la Rus de l'autre. L'histoire de la Rus l'intéresse particulièrement. Cela remonte à ce qu'il a remarqué avec son œil vigilant une thèse récente de la recherche, selon laquelle, sur la base des *Annales russes*, les Russo-normands occupèrent Kiev non à la date pendant longtemps affirmée de 882, mais au début des années 900. Ils s'affairèrent ensuite à l'édifica-

¹⁸ Sur le logos scythe chez Hérodote, voir Hérodote, *Histoires*, Livre IV, texte établi et traduit par Ph. Legerand, Paris, 1960 (3^e édition), 46-133.

¹⁹ HKÍF, 65. Sur l'économie hongroise, voir Kristó, *A magyar állam megszűlése*, 183-206; J. Szabadfalvi, « A honfoglalás kori magyarság állattenyésztő technikája » [Les techniques d'élevage des Hongrois à l'époque de la conquête], in : L. Kovács-A. Paládi-Kovács (dir.), *Honfoglalás és néprajz*, Budapest, 1997, 69-77.

tion de leur nouveau centre (pp. 32-33). Zimonyi en a tiré tout de suite les conclusions relatives à la chronologie de la tradition de Ġayhānī, et a fini par établir, à juste titre, que la partie hongroise de la tradition de Ġayhānī – contrairement aux opinions antérieures – ne se rapporte guère à la décennie 870-880, mais à la période 870-895 (l'occupation du territoire). Il a reconnu par conséquent que cette intervalle plus large augmente en même temps la valeur du chapitre hongrois de la tradition de Ġayhānī en tant que source (pp. 31, 231, 237-239 et 242). Dans sa thèse, il associe un résultat linguistique assez récent que l'on doit à András Róna-Tas et Lajos Ligeti et qui contient une affirmation essentielle relative à la langue des Khazars. Ainsi cette langue serait de type tchouvache (r-turc), tout comme la langue des Onogours (bulgaro-turc) (p. 255). Ces importants résultats scientifiques s'avèrent les piliers du nouveau tableau dessiné par Zimonyi sur l'histoire des Hongrois au IX^e siècle.

D'après Zimonyi – à la différence de Zoltán Gombocz, Gyula Németh et leurs successeurs –, les périodes déterminantes de l'histoire précoce des Hongrois ne doivent plus être liées aux Turcs onogours, mais à l'histoire des Khazars, puisque les mots d'origine turque de la langue hongroise proviennent de leur langue, au lieu du bulgaro-onogour. Selon notre auteur, les Hongrois, dont la formation en un peuple a été provoquée par la migration des peuples sur la steppe aux IV^e-VI^e siècles, appartenaient à partir du VII^e siècle (pratiquement dès la création du Khaganat Khazar en 652, mais surtout à partir des années 680) à l'Empire khazar jusqu'en 895. Les Khazars ont une responsabilité à long terme dans la fondation et dans la consolidation de la fédération des tribus hongroises, ainsi que dans la réunion ethnique des Hongrois, dans leur unité politique et dans la formation de leur importante force militaire. D'après l'une des thèses centrales de Zimonyi, les Hongrois ne se séparèrent de l'Empire khazar que par l'occupation du bassin des Carpates et devinrent, d'un peuple d'auxiliaires militaires, une formation politique souveraine seulement à cette date. Ce fut aussi le moment où le chef de la fédération des tribus hongroises, le *künde* (*kündü*) cessa d'être vassal du khagan khazar. Il trouve par conséquent que, faute de souveraineté, la naissance des dignités (khazares) du *künde* (*kündü*) et du *gyula* ne signifia point l'instauration du système de la double souveraineté sacrée, suggérée par le modèle khazar.

Pour justifier cette conception historique fondamentalement neuve, Zimonyi évoque, à côté des données bien connues des sources byzantine (DAI) et musulmanes (comme les dignités du *künde* et du *gyula*, le rôle de Levedi, l'élection khazare d'Árpád), des arguments d'ordre linguistique, tel les mots empruntés à la langue turque (aux Khazars), témoins supposés des relations durables (multi-séculaires) entre les Hongrois et les Khazars. Il a également utilisé les idées de Jenő Szűcs relatives à la genèse de l'ethnie hongroise. Selon celles-ci, comme l'avait déjà pensé József Deér, les Hongrois furent organisés par les Khazars, et la période turco-khazare eut un rôle déterminant dans la formation du peuple hongrois (pp. 254-259).

Il est incontestable que ce nouveau tableau de la préhistoire hongroise, qui forme d'ailleurs un ensemble organique, doit être considéré comme un important résultat scientifique. Je suis pourtant obligé d'énumérer certaines remarques critiques.

1. Tout d'abord, la formation de la fédération des tribus hongroises s'est réalisée, grâce à Levedi (ou un de ses prédécesseurs) dès avant la période khazare. En témoigne sans équivoque le DAI selon lequel, même avant la domination khazare, Levedi portait le titre du premier *voïvode* (voïvode en chef). Il fut donc au-dessus des autres chefs des tribus ou voïvodes. Ainsi la fédération des tribus hongroises exista avant la prise de contact avec les Khazars²⁰.

2. Le processus de l'ethnogenèse hongroise, comme Gyula Kristó et István Fodor l'ont déjà remarqué, se trouvait dans un état très avancé plusieurs siècles avant la période khazare. L'époque finno-ougrienne de l'ethnogenèse était déjà close au cours de la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. Il est évident d'autre part que la période suivante de la formation du peuple, cette fois de caractère turc, suivit plus tard.²¹ On ne connaît pourtant ni la période exacte ni le type d'influence (onogour, khazare ou les deux) qui l'ont provoquée. Zimonyi lui-même évite de vérifier si les Hongrois avaient participé, au cours des IV^e-VI^e siècles après J.-C., à la migration des peuples (avec les Turks).

3. D'après une source byzantine (le DAI), la cohabitation hungaro-khazare ne dura que trois ans²². Cette donnée, souvent débattue, ne peut se rapporter à mon avis (et d'autres chercheurs sont d'accord) à une période longue de plusieurs siècles. Il est sans doute question d'une période bien plus courte²³.

4. Comment expliquer que la cohabitation supposée de plusieurs siècles entre Hongrois et Khazars n'a abouti, selon Zimonyi, à aucun ethnonyme d'origine khazare des Hongrois, alors que le nom Onogour des Onogours-Bulgares (et les différentes variantes de celui-ci), relégués à l'arrière-plan par les mêmes Hongrois, était au Moyen Âge l'une des appellations les plus fréquentes des Hongrois (et l'est même aujourd'hui) ?

5. Comment expliquer que, malgré une domination khazare que l'on suppose avoir duré plusieurs siècles et structuré le peuple hongrois, aucune mention n'est faite des Khazars dans la légende originelle des Hongrois (celle de la biche miraculeuse), née aux alentours de la Mer Noire, alors que des Onogours, des Bulgares et des Magyars, et même des Alains y figurent sous des ethnonymes personnifiés, tels Hunor, Belar, Mogor ? Vu tout ceci, il me paraît certain que les Onogours ont joué un rôle important dans l'ethnogenèse des Hongrois à la « période turke »²⁴.

²⁰ *De Administrando Imperio* (*A birodalom kormányzása*), traduction hongroise par Gy. Moravcsik, Budapest, 1950 (dans la suite : DAI), 171. Voir à ce sujet Kristó, *A magyar állam megszületése*, 115-118.

²¹ Voir par exemple I. Fodor, *A magyarság születése* [La naissance du peuple hongrois], Budapest 1992, 58-69; I. Fodor, « Az ősmagyarság etnikai tudata » [La conscience ethnique des anciens Hongrois], *Néprajzi Értesítő* 77 (1995), 20-31; Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 29-30.

²² DAI, 171.

²³ Pour la littérature relative à la période de la domination khazare sur les Hongrois, voir Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 131-132.

²⁴ Pour la prise en compte de la valeur historique de la légende de la biche miraculeuse, voir Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 119-128.

6. Il se pose nécessairement la question des Kavars (d'origine khazare). Nous regrettons que Zimonyi n'ait pas fait mention des Kavars. Le DAI raconte que les Kavars, après l'échec sanglant de leur révolte contre le khagan, fuirent l'empire et se joignirent aux Hongrois²⁵. Les Kavars, ennemis mortels du khagan khazar, ne purent s'attacher à son insu qu'à une formation politique hongroise *indépendante et souveraine*²⁶. Leur séparation d'avec les Khazars dut s'opérer au plus tard en 881, comme en témoigne leur incursion commune avec les Hongrois en Autriche au cours de cette année²⁷. Cela signifie que les Hongrois constituèrent déjà un peuple indépendant et souverain, séparé des Khazars, et disposant de son Etat. Peuple qui pouvait déjà se charger de protéger, au besoin, les Kavars contre les Khazars²⁸.

7. C'est probablement ce caractère hostile des relations hungaro-khazares que mentionne une phrase (tardive, puisque notée seulement après 940) de la tradition de Ġayhānī : « Autrefois, les Khazars s'entourèrent de fossés contre les Hongrois et d'autres peuples s'attaquant à leur pays.²⁹ »

En ce qui concerne les mots empruntés au turc, j'ai déjà mentionné à plusieurs reprises les sérieux problèmes d'ordre chronologique qui y affèrent. Je les évoque ici dans la mesure où, à côté des emprunts khazars, on doit prendre en considération l'emprunt des mots *onogours* et *kavars*, avant et après l'occupation du bassin des Carpates. La démonstration de Jenő Szűcs s'avère ici peu opérante. D'une

²⁵ DAI, 175.

²⁶ Voir à ce sujet par exemple Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, 259.

²⁷ HKÍF, 209. Voir à ce sujet par exemple S. L. Tóth, *Levédiától a Kárpát-medencéig* [De Levédie jusqu'au Bassin des Carpates], Szeged, 1998, 66-67.

²⁸ L'accueil par un Etat d'un peuple ou d'un groupe opposé à un autre empire entraîne logiquement la montée des tensions et des relations hostiles entre les deux formations politiques. Ainsi par exemple en 555, lorsque les Zhouan-zhouan, après plusieurs lourdes défaites face à l'Empire Turk, choisirent, au lieu de la soumission, la fuite de l'Empire chinois occidental, le khagan turk exigea de l'empereur chinois l'extermination des Zhouan-zhouan. Finalement, l'empereur livra aux Turks plusieurs milliers de Zhouan-zhouan, massacrés sur-le-champ par les Turks. En 568, les Avars, fuyant la domination turke, envahirent le bassin des Carpates et en prirent possession. Byzance, alliée des Turks, formula également le droit à une grande partie de ce territoire. Cependant, faute de force suffisante, le basileus ne put point empêcher l'occupation du territoire par les Avars. Néanmoins, le khagan turk a dénoncé en 576 l'alliance conclue avec Byzance, à la suite de quoi les Utigurs, ses propres alliés, se vengèrent par une attaque contre la péninsule de Crimée, sous domination byzantine à cette époque. En 1238, le khan Batou considéra comme mesure hostile le fait que Béla IV, en tant que prince de Transylvanie, eut autorisé en 1227 l'installation des Coumans, fuyant alors les Mongols, en Valachie et en Moldavie, reconnues comme possessions hongroises. Voir à ce propos par exemple : B. Csongor, *Kínai források az ázsiai avarokról* [Les Avars d'Asie dans des sources chinoises], Budapest 1993, 47 ; S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az avar történelem forrásai 557-től 806-ig* [Les sources de l'histoire des Avars : de 557 à 806], Budapest, 1998, 35 et 44-45 ; Gy. Györffy, *Napkelet felfedezése* [La découverte de l'Orient], Budapest, 1986, 80.

²⁹ HKÍF, 34.

part, chez lui, la confusion la plus totale règne en matière de linguistique ; il considère les Khazars comme des Turcs communs (par opposition aux Turcs tchouvaches), alors qu'il prend les *gyula* de Transylvanie pour des Turcs onogours à cause du nom Gyula. D'autre part, Jenő Szűcs met les deux siècles supposés de cohabitation hungaro-khazare dans l'intervalle séparant la période de 642 du début du IX^e siècle. C'est alors que les Hongrois, vivant sous la domination des Khazars (Turcs communs) durent emprunter les mots bulgaro-onogours³⁰. On se heurte donc, contrairement à la théorie de Zimonyi, à des incohérences dans la chronologie historique.

L'auteur procède aussi à une analyse édifiante de l'organisation militaire et de la vie religieuse des Hongrois. Sa conclusion, tirée d'exemples concrets, consiste à affirmer que dans le monde eurasiatique, le mot *tumen* – contrairement à l'opinion répandue – n'a que très rarement signifié un ensemble de dix mille soldats. Dans la majeure partie des cas, il s'agissait de quelques milliers de combattants. Pour cette raison, lorsqu'on tend à préciser les effectifs de la population hongroise de l'époque de l'occupation du bassin des Carpates, on ne peut pas fonder une théorie solide sur la mention d'une armée composée de deux *tumen* de chevaux légers. Ainsi, il a mis en cause, à juste titre, le fondement le plus solide des calculs antérieurs. Contrairement à des prises de position anciennes, Zimonyi n'entre plus dans des calculs ; il se contente de mentionner que le nombre des Hongrois agriculteurs fut supérieur à celui des Hongrois nomades. Pourtant, il ne dispose pour cela d'aucune preuve concrète. En tout cas, l'armée des Hongrois, de type nomade, représenta, à l'époque de l'occupation du territoire, une force remarquable, si l'on en croit ses victoires. Cette force égalait celle des Avars et des Turcs occidentaux, et forma l'effectif de la période des incursions militaires en Europe (p. 95-107 et 346). En vertu de l'affirmation de la tradition de Ġayhānī, selon laquelle les Hongrois « adoraient le feu », Zimonyi conclut, à force d'analogies, que chez les Hongrois d'Etelköz, à côté du chamanisme, le *tengrisme* (le culte de *Tengeri*, dieu du ciel) a aussi joué un rôle³¹.

La monographie d'István Zimonyi, élaborée au sein de l'atelier de Szeged d'études sur la préhistoire, est un précieux ouvrage *d'historien*. Le livre enrichit nos connaissances d'une manière considérable sur la préhistoire hongroise ainsi que sur ses sources musulmanes. Je suis convaincu que ses conclusions parfois contestables vont inciter les spécialistes à procéder à de nouvelles analyses. Étant donné son caractère interdisciplinaire, l'œuvre monographique constituera dans l'avenir un point de repère incontournable pour les historiens, les archéologues et les orientalistes. Pour cette raison, et afin de la mettre à la disposition de la communauté scientifique internationale intéressée par le sujet, je recommande sa publication en langues étrangères.

Traduit du hongrois par GÉZA SZÁSZ

³⁰ J. Szűcs, *A magyar nemzeti tudat kialakulása* [La formation de la conscience nationale hongroise], Szeged, 1992, 181-215.

³¹ Voir à ce sujet Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, 126-130.

International Trade and Political Centres in Eastern Europe in the Ninth–Tenth Centuries¹

SZABOLCS POLGÁR



This paper is based on a chapter of my PhD-dissertation, which focuses on the correlation of the trade and the political centres in Eastern Europe from the end of the eighth to the end of tenth century. Eastern Europe comprises a large territory stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and the Caucasian mountains and from the Carpathian Mountains to the Volga and Kama rivers. The history of Eastern Europe is characterized by great migrations in the period between the decline of the Huns in the middle of the fifth century and the Bulgarian conquest of the Balkans at the end of the seventh century. The Oghurs, Onoghurs, Saraghurs migrated to Eastern Europe around 463. Kutrighurs, Utighurs were mentioned north of the Black Sea in the sixth century. The Avars conquered the Carpathian Basin in 568. The Türk Kaghanate extended his power to eastern Europe including the Crimea in the second half of the sixth century. In the first half of the seventh century emerged Kuvrat khan's Bulgaria north of the Black Sea and the Khazar Kaghanate north of the Caucasus as a successor state of the western Türk Kaghanate. The latter conquered the territory of Kuvrat's empire after his death around 665. The Khazar Kaghanate became the dominant power of Eastern Europe from the end of the seventh century till the end of the tenth century.² The fate of the nomadic tribal confederations and empires of Eastern Europe was determined by the events of the whole Central Asian steppe-belt. Be-

¹ Cf. Sz. Polgár, *Kelet-Európa és a nemzetközi kereskedelem a 8–10. században*. [Eastern Europe and the international trade in the eighth–tenth centuries] Szeged 2006 (Manuscript).

² E. g. R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes. A History of Central Asia*. tr. N. Walford, New Brunswick 1970, 78–79, 171–182; M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija hazar*. [The History of the Khazars] Leningrad 1962, 62–112; P. B. Golden, "The peoples of the South Russian steppes" in D. Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge–New York 1990, 256–270; P. B. Golden, "Nomads of the Western Eurasian Steppes: Oğurs, Onoğurs and Khazars" in *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period*, ed. H. R. Roemer, W. E. Scharlipp, *Philologiae et Historiae Turcicae Fundamenta* 1, Berlin 2000, 282–295.

sides, the Slavic speaking tribes of the Eastern European forest zone must be taken into consideration in the early medieval history of Eastern Europe.

The Eastern European nomadic empires were connected with the neighbouring sedentary civilizations, i.e. the Roman, later the Byzantine Empire and the Sasanian Persia, then the Caliphate. The Arab conquest radically changed the political situation in Persia, Central Asia and Caucasus in the second half of the seventh century and at the beginning of the eighth century. The Khazars and the Caliphate waged frequent wars against each other in the first half of the eighth century. The Byzantine Empire entered in alliance with the Khazars to counterbalance of the pressure of the Caliphate. The Khazar court was interested in the Byzantine alliance against the Muslims, but the cooperation was menaced by the conflict in the Crimea, as the Khazars conquered a few Byzantine towns in the Eastern part of the Crimea at the end of the seventh century.³ István Zimonyi has adopted a theory of Thomas Barfield on the rise of the nomadic empires in connection with the prospering periods of China.⁴ Zimonyi has compared the relationships between the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire) and the eastern European nomadic empires: the Huns, Avars and Khazars. The Huns and Avars wrung a considerable quantity of gold from the Empire, but the rise and prosperity of Khazaria based on the military power and the commercial taxes.⁵ It is worth mentioning that the Khazars got also gifts (gold) from Byzantium in the 8th century, it was a wonted way in the relationship between the Empires and the eastern European nomads.⁶

There was a turning point began in trade contacts of Eastern Europe at the end of the eighth century. Eastern Europe took more considerable part in the world trade in the ninth and tenth centuries than in the earlier ones. It was the period of flourishing trade. The Khazars played a key role in the international trade, since they controlled the main commercial routes. The north-south route system was the Fur Road, which led from the eastern European forest zone to Byzantium and the Caliphate including the Volga-Kama route and the Dnieper route. The other

³ E.g., A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*. Cambridge, Ma 1936, 76–87; Th. S. Noonan, "Why dirhams first reached Russia: the role of Arab-Khazar relations in the development of the earliest Islamic trade with Eastern Europe," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (=AEMA) 4 (1984), 223, 227–228, 231, A. I. Ajbabin, *Etničeskaja istorija rannevizantijskogo Kryma – Etnische Geschichte der frühbyzantinischen Krim*, Simfereopol' 1999, 185–190.

⁴ Th. Barnfield, *The Perilous Frontier. Nomadic Empires and China*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. Cambridge–Oxford 1992.

⁵ I. Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen über die Ungarn vor der Landnahme. Das Ungarische Kapitel der Ġaiḥānī-Tradition*. Gabriel Schäfer Verlag, Herne 2006, 96–97.

⁶ Cf. Th. S. Noonan, Byzantium and the Khazars: a special relationship? in J. Shepard, S. Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy*. Aldershot 1992, 120.; S. A. Naumenko, S. I. Bezuglov, *Új bizánci és iráni importleletek a Don-vidék sztyeppéiről*. [New Finds of Byzantine and Iranian Import into the Steppes of the Don Region] A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. *Studia Archaeologica* 3 (1996), 247–257.; A. V. Komar, *Predsaltovskie i rannesaltovskij gorizont Vostočnoj Evropy (voprosy hronologii)* Vita Antiqua 2 (1999), 111–136: <http://archeology.kiev.ua/pub/pub/komar.htm>

route was the east-western part of the Silk Road.⁷ The Volga route and the Silk Road crossed each other in the Lower Volga region. It is no accident that the new capital of the Khazars was set up there as a consequence of the Arab-Khazar wars.

The incomes of the Khazar Kaghanate derived from three sources: 1) taxes or rates, 2) customs duties, 3) services. The Khazars could have share in the profit of the trade in several ways:

- 1) Direct commercial duties of the merchants coming from foreign countries (commercial tithe).
- 2) The merchants paid tribute to the ruler, they lived among the Khazars and took part in commerce. They presumably exported furs and other precious goods to the Islamic countries.
- 3) The peoples of the Khazar Kaghanate paid tribute in furs etc.

Ibn Fadlān recorded that the Volga Bulgars paid a pelt of sable from every house to the Khazar ruler in 922.⁸ According to the Russian Primary Chronicle the Khazars laid tax on furs among the different Slavic speaking tribes.⁹ There are accounts on the trade of the Hungarians living under the influence of the Khazars, but there is no information on fur trade of them.¹⁰ Probably they were not engaged in the fur trade, it was a monopoly of the Khazars. The Hungarians sold captives to the Byzantines and the Khazars got the furs as tax from their Slavic subjects.¹¹

Noonan estimated that 150–300 tons of silver were exported from the Islamic world to Eastern Europe and ca. half a million furs was exported from the Eastern European forest zone during the tenth century.¹² It was an enormous quantity.

The favourable position of the Khazar Kaghanate did not last long, as two new states emerged which became rivals of the Khazars: the Rus' and the Volga Bulgars at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. The early history of the Rus' can be connected with the migrations of Scandinavians into

⁷ E.g. Noonan, *Why dirhams first reached Russia*, 249–282.

⁸ A. Kmietowicz–F. Kmietowicz–T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*. [Arab sources on the deeds of the Slavs] Vol. 3, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1985, 66; A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*. Leipzig 1939, 80; A. P. Kovalevskij, *Kniga Ahmeda Ibn Fadlana o ego putesestvii na Volgu 921–922 gg.* [Ibn Fadlan's report on the voyage in the Volga region in 921–922 A. D.] Har'kov 1956, 140.

⁹ *Povest' Vremennyh Let*. 1. [The Tale of Bygone Years] Per. D. S. Lihačev–B. A. Romanov, Red. V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, Moskva–Leningrad 1950, 18 (text), 214 (transl.).

¹⁰ H. Göckenjan, I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter. Die Ġayhānī-Tradition*. Wiesbaden 2001, 74 (Ibn Rusta), 177 (Gardizi), 252 (al-Marwazi).

¹¹ Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen*, 255.

¹² Th. S. Noonan, "Volga Bulghāriā's tenth-century trade with Sāmānid Central Asia," *AEMA* 11 (2000–2001), 140–218. 2001; R. K. Kovalev, "The infrastructure of the Northern part of the „Fur Road” between the Middle Volga and the East during the Middle Ages," *AEMA* 11 (2000–2001), 33–34.

Northern Russia. The different groups of Scandinavians began to settle in the forest zone of North Western Russia from the eighth century. Their earliest centre was beside the Lake Ladoga in the ninth century.¹³ The commercial boom in Eastern Europe had an attraction for the commercial activity of the Rus'. The Rus' merchants travelled frequently to Kherson, a city in the south western part of the Crimean Peninsula and Constantinople. The other road led via Volga Bulgharia to Khazaria along the Volga. They sold their merchandise in the towns of Bulgharia and Khazaria, but reached occasionally the Southern coast of the Caspian Sea and Iraq. The eastern trade of the Rus' was under the control of the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars, so the Rus' merchants had to pay commercial tithe.¹⁴

The other new state was Volga Bulgharia, a vassal of Khazaria up to 922. The Volga Bulgars formed from different tribes migrating from the South Russian steppes to the region of the confluence the Volga and Kama rivers. The earliest reports on the Volga Bulgars were recorded in the second half of the ninth century in Muslim geographical literature.¹⁵

From the end of the ninth century there were a few events, which contributed to the decline of the Khazar power under Eastern Europe. The first of them was the migration of the Pechenegs in the middle of the 890s. The Pechenegs lived in the Kazakh steppe in the ninth century. In 893 the Samanid emir waged war against the Karluks and defeated them, which put an end of the political balance in the Kazakh steppe, the former vassals of the Karluks, the Kimeks and Oghuz established new states. The Oghuz tribes expanded their power to their western neighbours, the Pechenegs and expelled them from the Kazakh steppe. The Pechenegs entered by force into the South Russian steppes and routed the Hungarians who were allies of the Khazars.¹⁶ The Khazars lost the control over the steppe region between the Don and Danube rivers. The Pechenegs did not submit to the Khazars. The withdrawal of the Hungarians from the middle Dnieper region was favourable for the political activity of the Rus'. Prince Oleg conquered Kiev in the forest steppe zone, which became capital of the Rus' state.¹⁷ The au-

¹³ E.g., J. Callmer „From West to East. The Penetration of Scandinavians into Eastern Europe cca. 500–900,” in *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, eds. M. Kazanski, A. Nersessian, C. Zuckerman, *Réalités Byzantines* 7, Paris 2000, 45–94; W. Duczko, *Viking Rus. Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe*. Leiden–Boston 2004, 60–70.

¹⁴ O. Pritsak, „An Arabic Text on the Trade Route of the Corporation of ar-Rus in the Second Half of the Ninth Century,” *Folia Orientalia* 12 (1970) [1971], 256–257.

¹⁵ I. Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulgars*. Studia Uralo-Altaica 32, Szeged 1990.

¹⁶ I. Zimonyi, „A besenyők nyugatra vándorlásának okai,” [On the westward migration of the Pechenegs] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 106 (1998), 129–144.

¹⁷ E. g. S. Franklin, J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200*. London–New York 1996, 93–107; M. Font, „A magyar kalandozások és a kelet-európai viking terjeszkedés,” [Military expeditions of the Hungarians and the Viking expansion in Eastern Europe] in *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás* [Nomadic migrations, Hungarian conquest] eds. Sz. Felföldi, B. Sinkovics, *Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár* 15, Budapest 2001, 99; I. Bóna, *A magyarok és Európa a 9–10. században*. [The Hungarians and Europe in the ninth–tenth centuries] *História Könyvtár, Monográfiák* 12, Budapest 2000, 23.

thor of the Russian Primary Chronicle recorded that Prince Oleg imposed tax on the Slavic speaking tribes of the middle Dnieper and Oka region such as the Drevlians, Severians and Radimiches.¹⁸ It means that the Khazars lost the control in the forest zone and forest steppe zone between the Dnieper and the Upper Volga, that is the western region of the furs.

The next step in declining the Khazar empire was the secession of the Volga Bulgharia from the Khazar Kaghanate. The Bulghar king, Almish converted to Islam officially in 922 and minted own silver coins. It was a symbolical act of the independence. Abū Hāmid al-Garnāti recorded in the twelfth century that the Khazar kaghan sent an army to the Volga Bulgharia to submit the Bulghar king after the embrace of Islam, but the Bulghars defended themselves. According to Abū Hāmid this account was recorded in the chronicle of the Volga Bulghars.¹⁹ Apart from this account there is no mentioned on hostility between the Volga Bulghars and the Khazars. The basic difficulty for the Khazars was losing control over the peoples of the middle Volga region including the forest zone, another home of furs. The region of the Oka river, which is only a part of the forest zone between the Rus' and the Volga Bulghars, remained under Khazar control, until Prince Sviatoslav conquered this region in 964 according to the Russian Primary Chronicle.²⁰ The Khazar influence in the Oka region before 964 is also attested in the Hebrew „letter of Joseph”, but it was a small and insignificant region compared with the other lost territories.²¹ Another setback for the Khazars was the boom of the direct land route between Central Asia (Khwarezm and Khorasan, the Samanid Emirate) and the Volga Bulgharia. There is a detailed description of this route in the report of Ibn Fadlān who was the secretary of the embassy sent by the Caliph from Baghdad to the king of the Volga Bulghars in 921.²² It made possible for the Bulghars to trade directly with the Central Asian Islamic states without paying tax to the Khazar king.

The reduction of the lands of furs caused the lowering of the commercial incomes in the Khazar Empire. Muslim authors mentioned that the Khazar mercenary troops did not get enough salary in the middle of the tenth century.²³ The

¹⁸ *Povest' Vremennyh Let*, 20–21 (text), 217 (transl.).

¹⁹ O. G. Bol'shakov, A. L. Mongajt, *Putešestvie Abu Hamida al-Garnati v Vostočnuju i Central'nuju Evropu (1131–1153 gg.)*. [The journey of Abu Hamid al-Garnati in Eastern and Central Europe] Moskva 1971, 31; I. L. Izmajlov, „Načala istorii' Volžskoj Bulgarii v predanii i istoričeskoj tradicii,” [‘Early History’ of Volga Bulgharia in the legend and the Historical tradition] in *Drevnejšie Gosudarstva Vostočnoj Evropy* (1998 g.) Otv. red. T. M. Kalinina, Moskva 2000, 101.

²⁰ *Povest' Vremennyh Let* 1, 46–47 (text), 244 (transl.).

²¹ P. K. Kokovcov, *Evrejsko-khazarskaja perepiska v 10 veke*. [Jewish–Khazar correspondence in the tenth century] Leningrad 1932, 98 (“long version”).

²² Knietowicz et al., *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*, 26–47; Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, 17–39; Kovalevskij, *Kniga Ahmeda Ibn Fadlana*, 121–131.

²³ Al-Istahri: *Viae regnorum Descriptio dittonis moslemicae auctore Abu Ishak al-Farisi al-Istakhri*. ed. M. J. De Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. Tomus 1, Lugduni Batavorum 1870, 221; Ibn Hawqal, *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Haukal*. ed. J. H.

expansive ambition of the Kievan Rus' increased in the 960s under the reign of prince Sviatoslav. The Khazar-Rus' relations were peaceful up to this time. At the beginning of the tenth century the Khazars let the Rus' troops pass through to Khazaria to attack the South Caspian region. Around 960 Khazar king prevented the Rus' crossing the territory of the Kaghanate. In 964 Prince Sviatoslav conquered the Slavic speaking Viaticians who paid tribute to the Khazars. Then the Rus' defeated the Khazars in 965 and 969.²⁴ The fall of the Khazar Kaghanate meant that the Volga Bulgars take their role in the trade with the East, but the volume of the trade was reduced at the beginning of the eleventh century. Neither the Bulgars nor the Rus' could control the entire Volga route. The Oghuz gained control over the lower Volga after the fall of the Khazar Empire.

In conclusion, the dominant power of Eastern Europe was the Khazar Kaghanate in the ninth and tenth centuries and its existence was based on the international trade. The Volga Bulgars and the Rus' became rivals of Khazaria in the tenth century. The Bulgars and the Rus' lived in the forest zone and they gained control over the land of furs. The Khazars lost the main basis of the incomes and led to the decline of the kaghanate.

Kramers. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. Tomus II. Pars secunda. Lugduni Batavorum 1939 (2d edn.), 390; J. H. Kramers, G. Wiet, intr., trad., *Ibn Hauqal: Configuration de la terre*. Beyrouth-Paris 1964, 380.

²⁴ *Povest' Vremennyh Let*. 1, 47 (text), 244 (transl.); T. M. Kalinina, „Svedenija Ibn Haukalja o pohodah Rusi vremen Svjatoslava“ [Ibn Hawqal's reports on the expeditions of the Rus under the reign of Prince Sviatoslav] in *Drevnejsie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR. Materialy i issledovanija* 1975 g. Moskva 1976, 90-101.; A. P. Novoselcev, *Hazarское gosudarstvo i ego rol' v istorii Vostočnoj Evropy i Kavkaza*. [The Khazar state and its role in the history of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus] Moskva 1990, 219-227.

The Hungarian National Defense during the German Wars 1030–1052*

GYÖRGY SZABADOS



The young Hungarian Kingdom and the not much elder Holy Roman Empire's armed conflicts are consistent parts of our medieval history. During this time the monarchs often changed, though there were long periods of peace, as well. The German Empire and the opponent Hungarian defense caused these events. I will only refer to the essential diplomatic movements during my essay. I do not endeavor to mention all the details of the battles. Detailed descriptions can be found in the writings of many specialists.¹ I would only like to answer whether military or other factors facilitated the Hungarian triumph and how these elements appear in the written sources. I stand by what I have previously said; we need to know all the archeological details and especially the history of the climate. Furthermore, I used contemporary Hungarian and German chronicles and annals.

According to the Annals of Salzburg, the Hungarians and the Kabars were fighting in the vicinity of Vienna since 881, so they had extensive knowledge of the local Carpathian basin before they tried to occupy the country.² Until 955 the Hungarian offensive corps were the ones who most often passed through this country. The Eastern Frank State tried to stop them only once, in the summer of 907, without any success.³ The next offensive of the German Empire was in 1030 after 123 years of peace. Two Christian monarchies opposed; the difference was

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¹ The most detailed description is to be found in J. Doberi Breit (Bánlaky), *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme* [The Hungarian nation's military history] Vol. 3. Budapest 1929; new and shorter version is to be found in Gy. Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában*. [Wars and warfare during the Árpád period] Szeged 2003, 73–80. A few battles and campaigns are in A. F. Gombos, *Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján*. [On King Saint Stephen death's nine hundred anniversary] Vol. 2. Budapest 1938, 109–132; L. Négyesi, „A ménfői csata,” [The battle of Ménfő] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 107: 3 (1994), 136–146.

² A. F. Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae*. 3 vols. Budapestini 1937–1938, 1: 754.

³ Referring to Kristó Gyula, with this win the enemy accepted the territory loss caused by the previous Hungarian conquest. Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés*, 25.

political not ideological. In 1024 a new dynasty ascended the throne with new expansion plans. Conrad II (1024-1039) overthrew the doge of Venice's – the Hungarian king Steven's brother in law – dominion and in the same year got the Bavarian duke's throne on behalf of the Hungarian king's son. He was within his rights to do this, because Imre – the Hungarian king's son – was originally a Bavarian duke on his mother's side. In 1027 Conrad's heir, Henry III (1039-1056) – that is, not Imre – obtained the head of the German province.⁴ The clash between the two empires was bound to happen.

The offensive was taken in the summer of 1030 which is recorded by Wipo – Conrad II's court historian – in a surprisingly precise way: „many conflicts arose between the Pannons [sc. the Hungarians] and the Bavarians, but these were at the Bavarian's instigation. That is why the Hungarian king Stephen invaded the Nordic land [sc. the Bavarian kingdom] several times and started to pillage. Emperor Conrad attacked the Hungarians with his huge army for this reason.”⁵ The mutual boundary quarrels convince us that king Stephen was prepared for the conflict. We do not have exact data from the line of offensive except for the fact that the emperor had fighting units near the River Fischa.⁶ Neither do we know which Hungarian contingents tried to stop the Bavarians. The Annals of Altaich gives us some information about the fact that the Hungarian military operations started at the end of June or the beginning of July.⁷ Wipo's next information is about the natural obstructions. “The emperor could not penetrate into the Hungarian kingdom because of the natural obstructions, but he revenged on the Hungarians by burning and looting in the frontiers and planned to come back in a more suitable time to accomplish what he previously started to do.”⁸ From the chronicle of Hermann of Reichenau we know a long line of the German army reached the country. “Emperor Konrad – who had conflicts with the Hungarian King Stephen for a long time – overran the Pannons and as long as the swamps and rivers let him to do this destroyed everything in line of the River Rába.”⁹ On the ground of these two data it is indisputable that the campaign stopped soon because of the natural obstructions by the eastern frontier. He was not able to reach the middle of the country. We know valuable details about the successful Hungarian response from the Annals of Altaich: “Konrad returned from Hungary without any success because his army was starving and the Hungarians oc-

⁴ About the reasons of the Hungarian-German wars in Gombos, *Szent István király*, 109-112; F. Makk, *Magyar külpolitika (896-1196)*. [Hungarian foreign policy] Szeged 1996, 63-64; Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés*, 73-74.

⁵ Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae*, nr. 2666.

⁶ Gombos, *Szent István király*, 127.

⁷ Emperor Conrad has spent the night in the abbey of Altaich on the birthday of Saint Alban – E. Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*. *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. Hannoverae 1891, 18. – so the date must be around 21 June 1030.

⁸ Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae*, nr. 2666.

⁹ Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae*, nr. 1143.

cupied Vienna."¹⁰ First, I would like to mention the defense tactic of burning the land. That made it totally impossible to get new supplies from the occupied land. The Hungarian counterattack was a brilliant move, as well. However, it is not believable that the Austrian capital of today had a really good fortress at that time because Stephen's army conquered the town with their impetus, so to speak. After the peace negotiations, the Germans endured a loss of territory but it is only mentioned in one of the records from 1043 in the Annals of Altaich.¹¹ On the grounds of King Henry III's donation letter from 1051, Gombos proved that the Hungarians became occupied in two territory sectors, the alley of Lajta-Fischa and the Duna-Morva curve.¹² He concluded that the Hungarian army conquered a bigger area that they finally got. We do not know any other details about the case because the German chroniclers do not mention it more because they tried to disguise the serious fiasco. However, we do not have any Hungarian reports on these movements either.¹³ The chroniclers who lived at the same time only mention the defense: the natural obstructions, the ruin of the supply, the efficiency of fast counter-attack, and the inexpressible value of the knowledge of the local geography and climate.

The later authorities are significantly better at keeping records because the Germans had success that they could be proud of. The Hungarian successes are also found in these authorities. This helps us to create an objective opinion about the case. In October of 1042, the expelled Hungarian king Peter – the previous enemy – has found a refuge in the court of Emperor Henry III. The Hungarian conflict for the throne came just at the right moment for the German king because he could expound his goals by seeming to be an arbiter.¹⁴ King Samuel Aba called on Henry through his ministers not to protect his rival, but the emperor refused. To emphasize his request, Aba ravaged the Bavarian and Carantanian frontiers in the spring of 1042. In July Henry III began a military expedition against the Hungarians. According to the Annals of Altaich, he conquered nine Hungarian castles, but only held them for a short time. These castles were owned by a duke of

¹⁰ H. Wolfram has a new interpretation of the Annal of Altaich of the 1030 battle. A „*Conradus imperator... Rediit autem de Ungaria sine militia et in nullo proficiens, inde quod exercitus fame periclitabatur, et vienni ab Ungris capiebatur.*” Oefele, MGH SS. Rer. Germ. 18. His opinion is that the Hungarians did not occupy Vienna only caught the German corps near to Vienna because the word ‘*Vienni*’ is not in a subjective case. H. Wolfram, “II. Konrád magyarpolitikája.” [King Conrad II's Hungarian policy] in L. Veszprémy, ed. *Szent István és az államalapítás*, Budapest 2002, 514. It seems rational but not convincing because the Annal of Salzburg uses the same word for Vienna.

¹¹ Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 33.

¹² Gombos, *Szent István király*, 131. Miklós Kring has quoted another benefaction from this area. M. Kring, “Magyarország határai Szent István korában,” [The Hungarian frontiers during Saint Stephen's dominion] Gombos, *Szent István király*, 2: 483.

¹³ Gombos, *Szent István király*, 130–132; Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae*, nr. 2666.; I. Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 2 vols. Budapestini 1937–1938. (henceforth: SRH) 2: 389–390.

¹⁴ Makk, *Magyar külpolitika*, 72–73.

the Arpad House, probably by the later King Béla I (1060-1063). After the German army left, Samuel Aba ousted the duke easily.¹⁵ Herman of Reichenau has also recorded this attack. "This autumn King Henry attacked the Pannons, occupied Hainburg, Pozsony and the northern shore of the Danube River. As the southern shore and swamps protected him, he destroyed the country as far as the river Garam..."¹⁶ We do not know the exact names of these nine castles, but their lightning fast defeat shows us similar weaknesses as were previously seen in Vienna fortresses.

We have detailed information about our defense in the notes from 1043. In August, Emperor Henry III marched with his army to the River Rábca. Referring to the Annals of Altaich, "they reviewed the army, prepared the war machines against the protective obstructions on the river and decided to attack tomorrow." The annals use the Latin word '*opus*' that refers to the obstruction that was built by humans.¹⁷ The local annals use the word '*obstacula*' which means the same.¹⁸ The '*opus*' from 1043 is the first written note about the Hungarian frontier defense.¹⁹ In connection with this I need to mention the defense definition of the Hungarian word '*gyepü*'. We suppose that the Hungarian words '*gyep*' (grass, lawn) and '*gyepü*' (grassy) have the same routes. The oldest meaning of the word is the deserted land, which separates the Hungarians from other people or separates the Hungarian tribes from each other. During the eleventh century - when the frontier defense developed - the meaning has split. Since this time the word '*gyepü*' means artificial frontier defense. Unfortunately, we do not know exact details about the splitting process because we do not have contemporary Hungarian sources nor any foreign ones. We cannot find the Latin word '*indago*' - which covers the exact word '*gyepü*' - in the contemporary sources, just some similar references.²⁰ Nevertheless, the Hungarian and German sources fit this proposal. We have another important point of view expressed by Breit. He emphasizes the fact that the contemporary frontier is not the same exact line, which is used now.²¹ This important point clearly explains the result of the conflict of August 1043. We know from the source that they avoided armed conflict at this time. Instead of being engaged in war, the two sides agreed that King Samuel Aba would surrender the conquered land that had been occupied in 1030. And he would pay 400 gold *talentum* (sc. unit of weight) as well as the same amount of fur cloaks as a gift. He assumed an obligation that King Stephen's wife Gisella would receive

¹⁵ Oefele, *Annales Altaenses Maiores*, 32. Probably the duke was Béla who lived separately from his brothers Levente and András. Makk, *Magyar külpolitika*, 74.

¹⁶ Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae*, nr. 1143.

¹⁷ Oefele, *Annales Altaenses Maiores*, 33.

¹⁸ SRH 1: 329.

¹⁹ Gy. Kristó-F. Makk-L. Szegfű, "Szempontok és adatok a korai magyar határvédelem kérdéséhez," [View points and data to the early Hungarian boundary defense] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 85:4 (1973), 639.

²⁰ Kristó-Makk-Szegfű, "Szempontok és adatok," 641.

²¹ J. Doberdói Breit, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, [A military history of Hungary] Budapest 1929, 3: 87-88.

everything back that was previously taken away from her by King Peter.²² We have two different comparisons of these serious points of peace. According to Rónai Horváth, Aba was not prepared for the battle, as he could hardly possess the gate of Moson and the line between Kapuvár and Abda. Furthermore, he could not set his army up behind the River Rába.²³ The other opinion is by Breit. He figures that the German Emperor was not aware of the strength of the Hungarian army. After he recognized the fact that he could only break through the Hungarian lines with great disadvantages, he preferred peace. Both of the opinions seem valid, though after referring to the Hungarian chronicles and other details we can come to different conclusions. The contemporary definition of the frontier was not the same as now. It was much more fluid, so it was not too difficult for the king (Aba) to surrender the 'safety territory' of the Lajta-Fischa-Morva region that had been conquered only 13 years earlier. We can prove from his later behavior that he considered it only temporary trouble and did not have to keep his original promise. He relied - maybe too much - on his royal power and the Hungarian defense line. The most important data from the year 1043 is the mention of using artificial defense in addition to the natural defenses. According to Wipo's and Hermann of Reichenau's report, the Hungarian swampy frontier south from the Danube River was impenetrable. The Hungarian defenders benefited much from the knowledge that had been inherited from their ancestors about the local geography and climate. By the summer of 1044, Henry III recognized that Aba would not want to keep his previous promise.²⁴ Much was at stake to prepare for the battle and we can state that the king relied on his victory. We know many details about the affairs from both the Hungarian and the German sources, so I need to mention the short definition of the chronicle researches. We know the German opinion from the contemporaneous Annals of Altaich. The Hungarian opinion is standing for the 'Chronicle composition' from the fourteenth century but it originally comes from a perished *gesta* from the eleventh century. It is indisputable that the old Hungarian *gesta* consumed parts of the Annals of Altaich but did not counterfeit it. Finally these two opposing view-points are equal with each other.²⁵ The Annals of Altaich stresses: "King Henry III has taken only two sections of his army away with him, the Noric and Czech. He only mustered support though his guardians from the court by refusing them supplies because of the bad crops. He did this against many premonitions. While on his journey, he greeted some deputies of Aba who reclaimed the escapees...

²² Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 33. Cf. SRH 1: 329.

²³ J. Rónai Horváth, *Magyar hadi krónika*. Vol. 1, [Hungarian military chronicle] Budapest 1895, 36; Doberdói Breit, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, 45.

²⁴ Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 34.

²⁵ B. Hóman, *A Szent László-kori Gesta Ungarorum és XII–XIII. századi leszármazói*. [The *Gesta Ungarorum* from the period of Saint Ladislav, and its descendants in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries] Budapest 1925, 81–87; L. J. Csóka, *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XV. században*. [The birth and growth of the Latin-written Hungarian historiography between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries] Budapest 1967, 348–351.

They tried to deter the king, but mostly to know the size of his army. They held back until the two armies were one day distant from each other. The people who urged peace also collected a huge company of their own. After all – even though both side of the opposition had members with placatory aims – they did not want to be unprepared. They agreed to fight three days later. On that day our hero arrived at the agreed place, but the opponent was not there. He decided to chase them across the River Rába, so he searched for a passable way through the river. His guides were Hungarians who were taken from their country. They rode along shore all night until the rise of day when they got over the ford. As soon as it was realized that they were coming, the guides escaped and left their supplies behind. The way was open for ours and they filled up their stocks.”²⁶ This new information confirms that the disloyal Hungarians, friends of Peter, used their knowledge of the land to eliminate the defensive advantage and exposed the deficiencies of the natural defense. The dormant passages were open. It is worthwhile to pay attention to some movements of cistern which mentions stagnant water (*stagnantibus aquis*) and defense works or fighting machines (*machinis*) which mean closeness by the usual method (*more solito*). This solution is frequently used in the *gyepű*-system. We can meet another frequent part of the defense system, the lurker deputy system. The Hungarian source *Chronica Picta* give us the line of the attack: “[Henry] pushed in at Sopron, but when he tried to cross at Babót near the River Rábca he could not do it because of the impenetrable obstructions: the flooding river, the chunky bush, and the swamp. The Hungarians who were loyal to Peter and the emperor rode all night up the riverside of the Rába and at the break of dawn crossed on a ford.”²⁷ The state soldiers trailed to Győr and on 5 July – by the reconstruction of Lajos Négyesi – clashed with Aba’s stronger army between the present-day towns of Ménfő and Gyimót.²⁸ The researchers fully analyzed the events in all aspects several times. Andrea Kiss, for example has given us a detailed review of the weather conditions of the era.²⁹ I will only reflect on the part of the sources that mention a new defense factor. The *Chronica Picta* tells us about Henry who “with many soldiers, stood against King Aba near the town of Győr at Ménfő and believed in his victory because some of the Bavarians told them that the emperor had only a few soldiers. As it is said, King Aba would be the victor if some of the Hungarians did not refuse to fight because they were still in a friendship with King Peter.”³⁰ Fortunately, the king’s Bavarian agents were part of the human department of the defense and they were sort of a ‘detached post’, a complementary intelligence service. Though they completed their tasks very well they did not have much influence on the

²⁶ Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 35–36.

²⁷ SRH 1: 331.

²⁸ Négyesi, „A ménfői csata,” 144; Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 36.

²⁹ A. Kiss, “Időjárási adatok a XI–XII. századi Magyarországról,” [Weather records in Hungary in the eleventh–twelfth centuries] in „Magyaroknak eleiről.” *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvanesztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*, ed. F. Piti, Gy. Szabados, Szeged 2000, 256–257.

³⁰ SRH 1: 331.

outcome of the battle. On the contrary, the other group that stayed with Aba had a bigger influence on the conclusion. The secret unit of mavericks handicapped Aba by desertion. Many fighters died in the battle of Ménfő. It is understandable that the German annals tried to stress the Hungarians' loss and the Hungarian chronicle did the opposite. The latter told us a specific piece of information: "That day more Teutons died than could be counted. To this day, that location is named Ferlorum Payer by the Teutons and Vesztnempti by the Hungarians. At that time and place, soldiers had killed so many people, for two months humans could hardly cross the land because of the stink of the corpse and archers killed everybody."³¹ (In order to protect the population against the epidemics because the battle was in the middle of the summer.) The defense was very efficient and effective and a summary of the incident can be found in the *Chronica Picta*. A view of this defense gives us very useful statistics. The light archers on horseback – the guardians of the *gyepű* – seemed to have regular point duty in contempt of anarchic policy. By the losing the battle – the first in the history of the Christian monarchy – the country was open to the enemy and they advanced to the middle, to Székesfehérvár.³² The second overthrow of Peter was accelerated by the faith oath that was sent to Henry III in the Pentecost of 1045. Accordingly, general displeasure started that swept away his dominion; this was unacceptable both to the Christians and pagans. King Andrew I (1046–1060), a very positive king from the Árpád dynasty, was enthroned after Peter and Aba who were the grandnephews of Saint Stephen on their mother's side. Soon Andrew had to face the issue that the German emperor would not accept the loss of the loyalty oath easily. He called his brother Béla home in 1047 or 1048 and prepared for the attack by building up the castle Magyarbrod at the Czech–Hungarian border in 1049. The Bavarian answer was the building up of Hainburg.³³ After the conflicts of the border in September 1051, Henry III attacked Hungary with his imperial forces. The *Chronica Picta* recalls the movement: „the emperor came to Hungary with his many warriors next to the streams of Zala and Zselic. He sent many ships with supplies to Hungary on the River Danube. The commander was his brother Bishop Gebhard. King Andrew and Béla heard this and burned all the corn. The population and all of the animals were relocated far away where the emperor planned to adjourn. When the emperor entered Hungary and saw the burned lands, he could not find any supplies for his soldiers or for the horses. He did not even know where his ships were, so he could not get any supplies at all. Despite the hunger of his forces, they crossed the forests until they arrived at the mountain of Bodajk. During this time, Bishop Gebhard arrived at Győr and sent a letter to Emperor Henry asking where he should wait for him.”³⁴ The offensive came in an unusual way and – what was brand-new – came from more ways. It is clear

³¹ SRH 1: 332–333.

³² Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 37; SRH 1: 333.

³³ F. Makk, "Megjegyzések I. András történetéhez," [Remarks on history of King Andrew I] in F. Makk, *A turulmadártól a kettőskeresztig*. Szeged 1998, 127–135.

³⁴ SRH 1: 347–348.

that Henry tried to avoid the Rába–Rábca *gyepű* and moreover his attack was a snap. He succeeded in reaching the middle of the country. He marched on to Bodajk in Fejér County; however, Simon Kézai's statement that he assaulted Székesfehérvár for five months is not true.³⁵ The only weak point of Conrad III's plan was the isolation of his army and the depletion of his supplies that occurred so soon. Gebhard's message was intercepted by Andrew's marauding soldiers and Bishop Michael counterfeited a letter in the name of the emperor with he used to recalled the fleet from the River Danube.³⁶ Beside the cumulative experience they had further disadvantages. "Furthermore, the Hungarians and Pechenegs persecuted them night and day and killed them with poisoned arrows. They kidnapped many of them by flexing ropes beyond their tents... fearing the dangers the Teutons dug themselves into the ground and covered themselves with their shields laid next to the corps like in a tomb."³⁷ As a legend of the fugitives in *Chronica Picta* we still name these mountains Vértes ('Shieldy'). Kézai uses the name Bársonyos ('Velvety') for the road from Bodajk to Győr as a way of remembering the scattered pillows.³⁸ We know the direction of the countermarch of the army from these two data. The German source the *Annals of Altaich* is quiet about their shame. The only thing what it mentions is that "the campaign against the Hungarians was totally unproductive and excruciating."³⁹ The German army reached the line of Vértes where it met with the tactics of the burned land and the light cavalry archers who were able to kill them because the mass of troops in the staging area was mobile. In 1052 King Henry III attacked again. By experience of the previous year's failure, this time the fleet and the army traveled together. The reference section of the *Chronica Picta* shows us totally contrary conflicts as in the movements of 1051: "That time the king of the Teutons with his huge army seized the castle of Pozsony because... he demanded that the whole Hungarian country be under his thumb. He used many siege machines but he could not conquer the castle even with eight weeks attack. The mentioned king arrived with his fleet to assault the castle of Pozsony. The Hungarians found a very good swimmer called Zothmund who was sent to the fleet of the emperor in the middle of the night. He dove under the fleet and drilled holes in all the ships so that they what filled up with water. The power of the Teutons' declined and they returned home. There were lots of knights in Pozsony but most notorious were Woytech, Endre, Vylungard, Urosa and Márton."⁴⁰ The brave diver foiled the German venture by drilling. His courage distracts from the fact that the siege of Pozsony proceeded by the fighting rules of Western Europe. We know by the

³⁵ Ibid. 179.

³⁶ SRH 1: 348.; Some of the researchers think that bishop Miklós is the author of the *gesta*. J. Horváth, *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái*. [The style problems of the Latin literature in the Árpád period] Budapest 1954, 305–315.

³⁷ SRH 1: 348–349.

³⁸ Ibid. 179–80; Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés*, 79.

³⁹ Oefele, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 47.

⁴⁰ SRH 1: 346–347; *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, 48.

names of the knights of the castle that they came from abroad so they used their own native experience during the defense of the castle.

Pozsony's successful defense was the end of the eleventh century's German wars. After that time, King Andrew I, with brave and successful foreign policy, renovated the Hungarian-German relations as they were before 1024. Fortunately, King Henry III's sudden death helped him to arrange peace with the Germans.⁴¹ They signed the peace treaty in 1058 at the field of Morvamező and it was confirmed by the marriage of the Hungarian crown Prince Solomon and the German princess Judith. The effective result is mentioned with pettiness by Pope Leo IX's biographer. In his opinion the empire lost Hungary.⁴² After King Stephen, Andrew was the first who could convince the Germans. The researchers mention him as Stephen's policy representative,⁴³ though the previous opinion does not confirm that he noticed Stephen's policy because of the defeat of Ménfő.⁴⁴ On the one hand, Aba Sámuel's generals were not suitable to his tactics. On the other hand the era's challenges have appeared in a brand new way and the defense tactics were brand new, too.

In summary we can clearly find the human and physical elements of the defense in the written sources. The natural element of the frontier defense is local knowledge which is given from the beginning and inherited from father to son. The rivers and swamps stopped the enemy, at least the River Rába did so. However, the Hungarians could empty all the supplies from the staging area in time and the power of the counter attack was able to conquer a piece of new land at the western boundary (1030). At the northern shore of the River Danube some tinhorn fortresses can be found (1042). At the River Rábca there are some works made by people (1043). Fighting machines and spy service can also be found. The *gyepű* system is only vulnerable if the enemy finds the soft spots of the local relief, however, the request for the fall back of the guards was given. The archers' quarantine protected the population against the spread of the epidemics. (1044). The tactic of the burning the land can be used in a successful way in the middle of the country and completed with the attack of the cavalry archers (1051). Protectors to any siege of the castle of Pozsony were strong warriors and trained knights (1052). Cleverness can be found in bishop Miklós and the diver Zothmund.

Finally, I would like to pay attention to the social importance of the burned land tactics in 1051 which was successful through hundreds of kilometers which shows us the mobility of the society that is the result of the eastern nomadic lifestyle. Certainly, I do not want to say that the Hungarians lived the pure nomadic lifestyle in the 1050s because the *Chronica Picta* tells us about the farmers. The old traditions were fixed in the community's mind and still can be found in a travel book a hundred years later. In 1147 Bishop Otto of Freising has shown the coun-

⁴¹ Makk, *Magyar külpolitika*, 88–93.

⁴² Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae*, nr. 2466.

⁴³ Makk, *A turulmadártól*, 130.

⁴⁴ Rónai Horváth, *Magyar hadi krónika*, 41; Doberdói Breit *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, 80.

try this way: “they have only a few villages and towns, their houses are usually made of wood and reed and sometimes of stones. They live in tents during the whole summer and autumn.”⁴⁵ All these facts prove that the national defense-organized by the Hungarian state-worked successfully, even in serious crises.

⁴⁵ Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae*, nr. 1767.

Military Orders and the Town (Twelfth to Early Fourteenth Centuries)

Urban Commanderies Case in the Rhône River Low Valley*

DAMIEN CARRAZ



The historiography of the military orders had for a long time focused on rural commanderies, both in monographs and regional studies.¹ It was soon forgotten that these orders appeared in urban space and that their presence and economic influence in urban areas was significant, even if they do not seem as important as many rural houses. Of course, the presence of the military orders in urban environment has not been totally forgotten as proved by scholarly works concerning such topics² or by relevant case studies.³ Nevertheless, it deserves a systematic

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¹ To enter into details of a bibliographical review would bring us too far, so impressive is the abundance of local or regional studies, often of uneven quality, dedicated to the countryside investment by the Templars and the Hospitallers. The most recent thesis about military orders in the French territories focuses entirely on rural establishments. This is the case with the works of A.-R. Carcenac, *Les Templiers du Larzac*, Nîmes, 1994; M. Miguet, *Templiers et hospitaliers en Normandie*, Paris, 1995; L. Verdon, *La terre et les hommes en Roussillon aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Structures seigneuriales, rente et société d'après les sources templières*, Aix-en-Provence 2001; and V. Bessey, *Les commanderies de l'Hôpital en Picardie au temps des chevaliers de Rhodes, 1309–1522*, Millau 2005.

² Several studies – still undiscovered – focused on the military orders in urban areas. These are treated through these topics: relations between them and the lay elites (for example E. Maschke, “Deutschordenbrüder aus dem städtischen Patriziat,” in *Preussenland und Deutscher Orden*, Würzburg 1958, 255–271; P. Pirillo, “Terra Santa e ordini militari attraverso i testamenti fiorentini prima e dopo la caduta di San Giovanni d’Acridi”, Acridi 1291. *La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, Perugia 1996, 121–136), with the communes (D. Jacoby, “Les communes italiennes et les ordres militaires à Acre. Aspects juridiques, territoriaux et militaires”, in M. Balard, ed., *État et colonisation au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, Lyon 1989, 193–214) or with the specific features of the urban lordship (L. Verdon, “La seigneurie templière à Perpignan au XIII^e siècle,” in N. Coulet, O. Guyotjeannin, eds., *La ville au Moyen Âge*, Vol. 2, *Sociétés et pouvoirs dans la ville*, Paris 1998, 221–228).

approach for the establishment of its characteristics. The arrival of these orders in the towns also deserves consideration and the reasons for their choice – in the religious context in which these orders appear – were all but obvious.⁴ Moreover, this consideration refers to the present research trend which began thirty years ago with studies focusing on the mendicant orders and on medieval urbanization which carefully investigated the interrelations between the monastic orders and urban environment.⁵

The lower valley of the River Rhône – which divides Toulouse County on the west and the county together with the Marquisate of Provence on the east – does not show any kind of specific political cohesion (Fig. 1). Yet an important urban tradition, left behind by the Romans, is to be found here, what is more, the network of the commanderies of the Temple and that of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem make it a prosperous field for analysis.⁶ Even though no overall studies have been published so far on the monastic presence in Provençal towns, it should be born in mind that very important foundations can be found in cities like Saint-Gilles, Saint-Laurent in Avignon, or in others on the periphery, for instance, at Saint-Victor in Marseille, at Montmajour in Arles or at Saint-André de Villeneuve near Avignon, to mention only the well-known ones – when the military orders arrived.⁷ As opposed to what can be observed in other French regions or even in the rest of the Provençal region, where their presence was mostly rural, the settlement of the two main international military orders in Low Rhodanian

³ Publishing monographs on the urban commanderies has been a scholarly tradition in all European countries since the nineteenth century to which eminent specialists still devote themselves, for example A. Demurger, "Les Templiers à Auxerre (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)," in P. Boucheron, J. Chiffolleau, eds., *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Âge. Études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget*, Paris 2000, 301–312.

⁴ For the time being only a few German researchers showed an interest in global way relating to the military orders and the towns but primarily for the late Middle Ages: U. Arnold, *Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preussen und im Deutschen Reich*, Marburg 1993; or K. Borchardt, "Urban Commanderies in Germany," in A. Luttrell, L. Pressouyre, eds., *La Commanderie, institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 2002, 297–305.

⁵ J. Le Goff, "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête," *Annales ESC* 13 (1968), 335–348, et "Ordres mendiants et urbanisation de la France médiévale. État de l'enquête," *Annales ESC* 25 (1970), 924–946. The Lille congress on *Les moines dans la ville*, Université catholique de Lille-Université de Picardie, 1996, provided an overview of these questions primarily for France and Northern Europe. In Italy the research has been focused on the religious orders *inurbamento* in the north and the centre, one can refer to C. Caby, "Les implantations urbaines des ordres religieux dans l'Italie médiévale. Bilan et propositions de recherche," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* (1999), 151–179.

⁶ D. Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales*, Lyon 2005.

⁷ About the beginning of these foundations: E. Magnani Soares-Christen, *Monastères et aristocratie en Provence (milieu X^e-début XII^e siècles)*, Münster 1999.

Provence and in Mediterranean Languedoc did not skip urban sites since ten Templar commanderies out of fifteen houses were located in town. It was also the case for six commanderies out of sixteen of the Hospital. The overall goal of the present study is to propose a temporary and inevitably limited assessment on urban commanderies. The circumstances of the arrival of the brethren in towns, their material holdings in the urban system, and also their economic and religious presence in the urban society are the subjects of the present study.

The characteristic features of the settlement of the military orders in towns

The arrival of the military orders in southern France, as in the rest of the Western Europe, was accomplished in successive waves. Unfortunately, the establishment of a house and/or that of a commandery was never illuminated accurately in the sources because the first deeds, in the majority of the cases, had been lost and the brethren were not circumspect enough to keep records of their foundations and their belongings in the very beginning. One must then be contended with the first mentions which often appear just a few years after the very arrival of the orders. The Hospitallers' progression in the region is well known: from Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, where one of the first houses in the West was established in 1113, the Order turned towards Arles (c.1115-1120) and later into the direction of eastern Provence (Gap, in the beginning of the twelfth century, Manosque, c. 1127), for instance, towards Languedoc.⁸ The second wave of establishments in the 1170-1180s enabled it to settle in the Marquisate of Provence and in particular in Orange, Avignon and Cavaillon.⁹ It was also the town what the Order of the Temple, upon its arrival, fixed as the first donation which assured the presence of the Order in Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux and in Orange in 1136, from where the Temple expanded immediately towards the countryside (Richerenches, Roaix, c. 1136-1138).¹⁰ The Hospital seems to have progressed from a permanent position: the commandery of Saint-Gilles soon assumed a leading role in the developing priory,¹¹ while the Temple relied on travelling missions charged with soliciting the first donations. The Templar brother Arnaut de Bedos, who established the first commanderies in the Marquisate of Provence in 1136-1138 moved to Uc Rigaut, probably being commissioned by Hugues de Payns to develop the order in southern France and in Catalonia. It seems certain that the activity of Bernat Roland, a brother who was in charge of the management in Richerenches and in Roaix, was the initiating cause of the arrival of the Templars to Arles where he

⁸ D. Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister. Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania (1100-1300)*, Woodbridge 1999, 50-57.

⁹ D. Le Blévec, "L'Hôpital de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem à Avignon et dans le Comtat Venaissin au XIII^e siècle," *Des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem de Chypre et de Rhodes hier aux Chevaliers de Malte aujourd'hui*, Paris 1985, 17-61.

¹⁰ J.-A. Durbec, "Les templiers en Provence. Formation des commanderies et répartition géographique des biens," *Provence historique* 9 (1959), 13-18.

¹¹ Santoni, "Les deux premiers siècles du Prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'ordre de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem," *Des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem*, 114-183.

was known to stay in 1143, and maybe in Saint-Gilles.¹² Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the activity of any representative of the order in a given region, who was in charge of creating a strategy of the settlement or responded to a call from an ecclesiastical or local lay authority who wanted the brethren to establish a new community. From these first centers, the Temple quickly progressed towards the east (Bayles, near Aix-en-Provence c.1143, and then towards Var and Alpes-Maritimes from the 1160s) as well as towards the west (Montfrin, Gard, 1146). The second wave of foundations which concerned Avignon (c. 1170), Tarascon (c. 1192), and later Cavaillon and Fos (c. 1200) also started from Arles, while the expansion from Saint-Gilles enabled the establishment of a net of minor rural commanderies. This brief chronological overview implies two remarks. The first one is that the Temple arrived at some sites where the Hospital had already been firmly established for about twenty years (Saint-Gilles, Arles, Cavaillon). In many cases, the Templars found themselves in a disadvantageous situation when compared with their rival who were already well organized with a reasonable local influence. Second, that even though most of the foundations took place in the second half of the twelfth century, the first established commanderies, like Arles and Saint-Gilles undoubtedly remained the richest and the most important ones in the hierarchy of the houses of the two orders.

The presence of the orders in a site is always preceded by an initial donation which served from time to time as a precursor of the role of the local landlords. But in the urban environment the sources provide a rather uneven insight while attempting to draw the social and political profile of the benefactors.¹³ Only the donations of great families are well documented which may shed some light on the support granted to the military orders, for instance, by the counts of Provence and Toulouse.¹⁴ It was the case with the princes of Orange when it is possible to follow the chain of privileges given to the military orders. First, under the Nice family which settled the Temple in Orange and which later conferred the seigniorial rights to the Hospital (1215), and then under the Baux family the relations between the two orders were more or less unperturbed.¹⁵ Like in the rural environment, where the attraction of the aristocracy to this new "way" of monasticism seemed clearer. It looks as the ideology of the crusade carried by those orders

¹² Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 88–90.

¹³ Thus, the first foundations which brought the Temple to Saint-Paul (1136), to Orange (1138) and to Arles (1143–1156) originate from several persons of whom we know little, if they have to be classified in the little knighthood or among simple landowners still numerous in Provence, Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 125–129.

¹⁴ About the respective roles of families of earls and old aristocracy: D. Carraz, *ibid.*, 108–121.

¹⁵ About the Tiburgis I feat in favor of the Temple: Marquis de Ripert-Monclar, *Cartulaire de la commanderie de Richerenches de l'ordre du Temple (1136–1214)*, Avignon-Paris 1907 (henceforth: CaRi), xlvii–xlviii. And about the close links between Orange's princes and the Hospital: F. Mazel, *La noblesse et l'Église en Provence, fin Xe-début XIV^e siècle. L'exemple des familles d'Agoult-Simiane, de Baux et de Marseille*, Paris 2002, 298, 353–355, 465–467.

had a deep impact on several families whose members have followed Raimon de Saint-Gilles in the Orient.¹⁶ If the dominant aristocracy was able to give an impulse to the arrival of the brethren, their supportive role was related once they had been settled by persons of often obscure extractions. But they seem to belong to the knightly layer of urban society which was characteristic of southern France as in northern-central Italy alike. Thus, the charters reveal the activity of some proctors who purchased lands on behalf of the Orders, sometimes on their own expenses; they made donations of lands, lent money, or supported them by different financial means such as construction and repair needed by the brethren. Those persons who may appear like the "friends" (*amici*) of the Orders confirmed their collaboration with spiritual links, either by taking the full habit as did Brocard at the Hospital of Avignon (1199), or by joining their confraternity and bequeathed them all their goods upon their deaths, like Catalan to the Temple of Tarascon (1202), or by choosing the cemetery of the Orders as their burial-place, like Peire de la Milice, protector of the Temple of Avignon (1270).¹⁷

As opposed to the role played by the nobles, bishops more often took the initiative to settle the brethren of the military orders in their cities. The donation of a church or chapel meant almost always the first step towards the founding of a new house. The orders arrived in a favorable moment for Provence as the reform movement just reached the region. Thus it was the case of Arles where the church of Saint-Thomas in the district of Trinquetaille first was granted to the Hospital by a noble layman, Peire Guilhem de Meynes, around 1110-1116. But having looked at the claim of the chapter house concerning this church, it seems that the Hospital preferred to purchase it back from the church of Arles before the final confirmation of ownership by Archbishop Atton and his successors.¹⁸ From this original centre, the Order promptly raised a house which first appeared in 1140.¹⁹ Sometimes, the episcopal action was much more decisive: in Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Bishop Pons de Grillon was dissatisfied with the support he gave to the Templar establishment in Richerenches; he also made a preliminary donation to Arnaut de Bedos by giving him the church of Saint-Jean, along with the adjacent *palacium* and the surrounding locations.²⁰ In other cases, the bishop was sa-

¹⁶ That fact is clear for castle lineages such as the Meynes, the Uzès-Posquières or the Pellet. As for Tiburgis, who has done so much for the Temple in Orange and in Richerenches and who was the daughter of Raimbaut II, probably died in the Holy Land, Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 177-182.

¹⁷ About Brocard: D. Le Blévec, "L'Hôpital," 19-24. About the others: Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 554-557.

¹⁸ P.-A. Amargier, *Cartulaire de Trinquetaille*, Aix-en-Provence 1972 (henceforth: CaTr), n° 257 (1115-1120), 258 (1129), 269 et 289 (1144).

¹⁹ Around 1144-1153, the brothers lived in the house; a *claustrum* and a cemetery appeared in 1146; CaTr, n° 26, 127, 139, 191.

²⁰ CaRi, n° 128. The part taken in that donation by other lay owners from the town and the church's patron name would enable one to recognize among these properties the old baptistery of the episcopal palace. Those goods could have gotten, in part, into lay

tified with a land-donation thus furthering the establishment of a house as was maybe the case with the Temple in Avignon.²¹ No doubt, the reform ideal which deeply rooted in the soul of many Provençal prelates did stimulate the response to those Orders also born from this spiritual premises. It indeed appears that a new generation of bishops, originating from monastic and canonic circles between 1060 and 1130 created an especially favorable context for the establishment of the military orders in the area.²²

In cases of urban houses the location was dependent on the very first donations. Thus these sites show characteristics which were also those of the religious institutions which fitted themselves into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries expansion of urban space. Commanderies were mostly located in the periphery of old centers in quarters characterized by fast urbanization, near the surrounding town-walls when those were already erected, preferably near the gates. In Arles, the Temple house, mentioned from 1146 onwards, can be found in the Bourg Neuf, a northern quarter of the town which was parceled out in the beginning of the twelfth century and which was encircled by a rampart from the end of the century.²³ The commandery, located near the banks of the Rhône river, laid outside of the precinct but near the gate which bore the name of *porta de militia* (Fig. 2).²⁴ These sites at the edge of the center were not so far as to be disadvantageous: a gate and the proximity of a busy road made attainable for the brethren the landed property located in the suburban country; it was also a sort that could attract the faithful and the travelers into the church of the commandery and it made the collection of the passage tax easier.²⁵ Finally, these locations still not accessed by the urbanization offer more possibilities for extensions. Therefore in Saint-Gilles, the Templars and the Hospitallers shared with each other an islet on the Rhône river in front of the city where their commanderies were sheltered behind large enclosures including vineyards and gardens.²⁶

hands and thus be restored at the order's arrival, M. Bois, *D'Augusta Tricastinorum à Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux*, Lyon 1992, 164–166.

²¹ D. Carraz, "Une commanderie templière et sa chapelle en Avignon: du Temple aux chevaliers de Malte," *Bulletin Monumental* 154 (1996), 8.

²² Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 134–159. For a new analysis of the Gregorian crisis in Provence: Mazel, *La noblesse*, 157–260.

²³ Record unearthed in Arles in 1146, in *domo militum Templi*, H. de Gérin-Ricard, E. Isnard, *Actes concernant les vicomtes de Marseille et leurs descendants*, Monaco 1926, n° 233.

²⁴ ...*domo Militie que est constituta supra portam civitatis Arelatis usque ad rupetam* (1197), CaTr, n° 177. In 1309, after the arrest of the Templars, the house was still on the same site contrary to the scholarly tradition which holds that the house had moved inside the rampart: *domum cum orto ibi adherenti que cita est extra muros civitatis Arelatis et extra portam dicte civitatis dictam de Milicia que confrontatur ab una parte cum Rodano, ab alia parte cum via publica*, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône (henceforth: ADBdR), 56 H 5170.

²⁵ In 1156, Uc de Monteil bequeathed to the Templars 500 sous tax collected at the Montélimar gate that they prefer, CaRi, n° 129.

²⁶ ADBdR, 56 H 124, 56 H 135, 56 H 5289.

The chronology and the conditions of the commanderies entering the towns show that a consistent urban establishment was present from the beginning and it really happened in the progression movement of the first military orders in the country. Whether the brethren have deliberately planned to establish themselves in such urban sites or they were driven by preliminary donations, the result was the same: one or two commanderies of the military orders appeared in each town of whatever importance along the Rhône river at the end of the twelfth century. Once established, the military orders were in general satisfied with the place they had acquired and were looking forward to increasing their influence in the town.²⁷

The influence of the military orders in the town

The presence of the order was established first of all by building complexes of which – with a few exceptions – there is nothing extant today. The possibility of an archeological excavation is rather limited; one should be contented with what texts provide, including modern studies. When they are sufficiently documented, urban commanderies appear as enclosures organized around a court. A church, a cemetery, a group of buildings consisting of more than fifteen rooms including a refectory, bedrooms of the commander and the treasurer, an infirmary, a wardrobe and appurtenances (attics, kitchen, meat-safe). The whole complex was found behind a fence also sheltering a windmill: like the Templar house of Arles, which existed between 1146 and 1309, bore the characteristic features of an important commandery.²⁸ It can often be observed that the systematic policy of a commandery concerning land purchases and even streets surrounding directly the commanderies, in order to expand the buildings but also to provide some isolation.²⁹ Thus, in 1308, the Arles residence appeared like an islet in the structure because it was surrounded by its garden, the Rhône river and the streets on both sides.³⁰ This purchasing policy thus determined the adjacent environment and notably the roads.³¹ Confirming the enclosure aspect, some of these buildings

²⁷ One rarely sees a moving of the commandery. This was the case with the Avignon Hospitallers who succeed in leaving the peripheral site for a more strategic position in the core of the urban centre at the cost of their permanent conflicts with the chapter and the prior of Saint-Pierre, their new parish, Le Blévec, "L'Hôpital," 21-24. It would also be the case, according to the scholarly tradition, of the Tarascon Templars who, fleeing a land that could be flooded on the Rhône river island, would have come nearer the ramparts, M. Constantin, *Les paroisses des anciens diocèses d'Aix et d'Arles*, Aix-en-Provence 1898, Vol. 2, 103.

²⁸ ADBdR, 56 H 5170, 56 H 5172, 56 H 5174, 56 H 5182 et B 433.

²⁹ For the commanderies of Arles: ADBdR, 56 H 31, 56 H 5170, 56 H 5174.

³⁰ ADBdR, B 433. For Avignon: Carraz, "Une commanderie," 9-10.

³¹ About urban topography which was modified by the monastic presence, the case of the Camaldolians allows comparisons with an order for which urban flight is coeval with that of the military orders: C. Caby, *De l'érémisme rural au monachisme urbain. Les Camaldules en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rome 2000.

looked as though they had been designed to provide a military function, to which one attaches a rather symbolic and ostentatious intent than a real defensive one.³²

When the presence of a commandery left a manifest print in the urban landscape – one should be impressed by the width of the church of the Hospital of Aix-en-Provence or the Temple of Avignon still intact today (Fig. 3). The few studies of urban settlements made the characteristics of the possessions of the orders in towns clear.³³ They consisted of houses, gardens and orchards, usually urban and rented with lease. The way these goods were accumulated cannot be surveyed here because it might involve very different cases. Let us only state that, in general, except for major shackles, all the commanderies' patrimonies seem to be formed on an average of three to six decades after the arrival of the orders and that their settlement was more based on purchases than on donations of the faithful.³⁴ In most of the cases, the Hospital seemed to have a determinant advantage over the Temple concerning landed properties. For example, in Avignon, taking only one type of goods, the Hospital appeared at the end of the thirteenth century as an owner of primary importance, collecting more than a hundred *quitrent* from houses dispersed in the seven parishes of the town.³⁵ As for the Templars, whose activity was restrained for a long time by the commune, they made significant purchases from 1250–1270 onwards but when they were arrested, they had only twenty houses.³⁶ Landed localization looks likely to be more the result of the appropriateness of purchases than a deliberate policy. At the very most, one can say that in Arles, of the thirty houses possessed by the Temple and leased out *intra muros*, the majority of them were gathered in the parish Notre-Dame de la Major, neighboring the resident parish of the order.³⁷ It was a quarter in expansion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries where there was still room for new acquisitions and buildings. It is obvious, on the other hand, that the accumulation of cultivable lands on the outskirts of the towns was sometimes formed by the site of the commandery.³⁸

It nevertheless must be noted that this typically urban patrimony was only significant in such important towns as Arles and Avignon. In small towns

³² The Arles' Temple mentions a tower, ADBdR, 56 H 31. In Nîmes, the order held a tower on the Roman wall, F. Mazauric, "Histoire du château des arènes," *Cahiers d'histoire et d'archéologie* 7 (1934), 132. The still extant archaeological vestiges also confirm borrowings from military architecture: Carraz, "Une commanderie," 9, 18; et M. Vecchione, "Un édifice templier en Provence: la tour Saint-Blaise d'Hyères," *Provence historique* 40 (1990), 57–75.

³³ Let us point out in comparison the recent adjustment for London: M. Gervers, "The Commandery as an Economic Unit in England," in *La Commanderie*, 252–258.

³⁴ Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 191–213.

³⁵ Le Blévec, "L'Hôpital," 27.

³⁶ ADBdR, B 437.

³⁷ ADBdR, B 433.

³⁸ In Avignon the Templars concentrated their attention on the alluvial zone close to their residence and named l'Estel. In Arles, they accumulated vines and pastures in the Trébon plain adjoining the Bourg Neuf.

(Orange, Cavaillon, Tarascon), possessions of urban houses had a more enforced rural profile. It is clear that even in the case of the large urban commanderies, possessions, values and profitability in the countryside surroundings supposedly exceeded the urban goods. The partial impression about the urban goods management is a certain lack of dynamism. Thus, contrary to what can be observed in other towns of Western Europe,³⁹ the orders do not seem to have played a determinant role in the urbanization process by arranging allotments, except maybe in case of Avignon (Fig. 3).⁴⁰ However, it might have been reflected essentially in their economic activity which was essentially reflected in the encashment of term leases, even if the brethren did attempt to vary their incomes by granting themselves a share of tolls on men and merchandise.⁴¹ The sources reveal little traces of commercial activity and they do not shed light on the way the houses could have contributed to the logistic support of the Holy Land. The military orders wanted to be present in all the urban districts along the Rhône river. The proximity of the river (to Arles, Saint-Gilles, and Avignon) reveals the use of those navigable roads for men and merchandises heading towards the embarkation places towards the Middle East, primarily Marseille and Saint-Gilles.⁴²

The needs of the Middle East directly leads us to the recruitment point considering that it was also among the duties of the western commanderies. The statistical social approach on the personnel which constituted these religious communities helps to understand the urban implantation mode of the military orders. One can observe the low number of these houses: just when they were arrested (after 1307) six Templars were found in Arles, two in Avignon, and only one in Fos, while the important Saint-Gilles commandery housed twenty-four brothers

³⁹ For the Temple see the Paris' case: G. Étienne, "Étude topographique sur les possessions de la maison du Temple à Paris (XII^e-XIV^e siècles)," *Positions des thèses de l'Ecole des Chartes* (1974), 86-87. And for Perpignan: Verdon, "La seigneurie," 223; and Tortosa: J. Fuguet Sans, *L'arquitectura dels Templers a Calalunya*, Barcelona 1995, 73.

⁴⁰ The order possessed many gardens in the Estel where also appeared a few houses at the end of the thirteenth century, ADBdR, 56 H 5202 et B 437. At the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, a borough which has been the object of a partial excavation appears in that same zone (*Bilan scientifique du SRA, DRAC PACA*, 1993, 199). Unfortunately no source reveals whether the allotment idea should be attributed to the Temple or rather to the Hospital which has inherited the possessions of the Templars.

⁴¹ The Hospitallers in Avignon and the Templars in Tarascon collected a tax on a salt loaded boat, ADBdR, 56 H 4224 et 56 H 5170. In Saint-Gilles, Templars also collected a toll on the merchandise floating down the Little Rhône or traveling on the Rhône River, E. Bondurand, "La leude et les péages de Saint-Gilles au XII^e siècle," *Mémoires de l'académie de Nîmes* (1901), 289, art. 3 et 4.

⁴² D. Carraz, "Causa defendende et extollende christianitatis. La vocation maritime des ordres militaires en Provence (XII^e-XIII^e siècle)," in M. Balard, ed., *Les ordres militaires et la mer, (130^e Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, La Rochelle, 21 avril 2005)*, Paris 2009, 21-45.

who lived in fifteen rural buildings in different places of the district.⁴³ The Hospital seems to have succeeded in maintaining a more favorable situation; the inquiry in 1338 provides more possibilities for comparison of a few components.⁴⁴ It is premature, however, to draw conclusions from these figures, of a loss of interest from the urban populations where recruitment was possible for the military orders, particularly for the Temple. Recruitment was mostly based on the economic and political matters which were especially linked to the orders.⁴⁵ Did the brothers, who populated the urban commanderies, only come from urban areas? Judging from the list of brethren, the members of urban knighthood were rather poorly represented.⁴⁶ Can one deduce that the orders recruited primarily from the lower strata of the population and thus it is necessarily less documented? It is possible. The membership of the Templar community in Saint-Gilles between 1139 and 1308 shows that at least 40% of the individuals did not come from towns *stricto sensu*, even if the popularity of the house was relatively limited - out of this number, 60% of the brethren came from the Gard district or from other adjacent ones.⁴⁷ The recruitment, as far as it was still local, did not appear clearly urban. And it seems, to reinforce this impression, that orders have met more enthusiasm from *allodium*-owners and from the middle-rank rural aristocracy living in the *castra* better represented among the brethren, *confratres* and benefactors. Under these circumstances, what kind of links could military orders have built with the urban communities?

⁴³ ADBdR, B 151, B 437, 56 H 5301; and L. Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nîmes*, Paris 1750, Vol. 1, n° 136. These poor showings corroborate the findings in other regions, for example, Miguët, *Templiers*, 135. The situation is quite different in the first decades of the order's existence, but the explanation of the fall in recruitment would exceed the scope of this article.

⁴⁴ The figures are, for instance, the following: 18 brothers in Arles, 13 in Avignon, 6 in Fos, 6 in Orange, N. Coulet, "Les effectifs des commanderies du grand-prieuré de Saint-Gilles en 1373," *Les hospitaliers du XII^e au XVI^e siècle*, *Provence historique* 45 (1995), 106.

⁴⁵ A. J. Forey, "Recruitment to the Military Orders (twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries)," *Viator* 17 (1986), 159.

⁴⁶ One can always find some brothers coming from important lineages as the Porcelet, the Baux or the Amic, but their presence, though they are noticed, is not necessarily in a proportion signifying a generalized infatuation of the urban aristocracy for the military orders. This approach cannot at any rate be a complete one because, in spite of some well-documented families, this urban *milites* class still has to be studied concerning Provence. For a synthesis, see M. Aurell, "La chevalerie urbaine en Occitanie (fin Xe-début XIII^e siècle)," *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge*, Paris-Rome 1997, 71-118.

⁴⁷ 566 names were identified during the existence of the house out of which 228 (40%) have a name shape connected with the name of a site which is not Saint-Gilles. Of course, nothing enables us to know the portion of the inhabitants of Saint-Gilles in the remaining 60%.

Military orders and urban communities

The members of the military orders were first of all professed brothers aiming to play the part corresponding to this status. The attitude of the bishop, as seen above, was not unfavorable. The brethren quite easily obtained the right in each district to own a church or chapel with a cemetery. But these churches - and it is characteristic of the urban implantation - were excluded from any parochial system.⁴⁸ In spite of that, it seems that the brethren, pleading their privileges, exerted all their powers, which drew down on them thunderbolts from the bishop and the chapter. From the last decades of the twelfth century, there is no Provençal town where no conflict was observed between ecclesiastical authorities and the military orders claiming for the landed possessions of the churches, parish revenues and burial fees. Everywhere, the discontents of the bishops or those of the chapters were recurrent: the orders did not pay the burial quarter tax due to the cathedral chapter, they used excuses to attract the dying persons to their cemeteries, shroud during the interdict periods; they did not pay the tithe due to the Church, but collected it without authorization.⁴⁹ The stake was of course financial: by attracting the locals to their churches and the deceased to their cemeteries the brethren deprived other ecclesiastical institutions, primarily bishops and chapters, of large amount of incomes. So after an *entente cordiale* period, the prelates become more and more distrustful, as indicated by the increased length and precision of the interdict restriction clauses imposed on the spiritual activity of the military orders.⁵⁰ Beyond a particular ecclesiastical context which encouraged the prelates to stay more watchful of their rights and income,⁵¹ these things reveal not only the longing of the Templars and the Hopitallers show, in towns as well, a manifest religious presence but probably also a sure success among the faithful.

⁴⁸ For example, when in 1169 the abbot of Saint-Gilles allowed the Templars to build their oratory, he clearly prohibited them from admitting persons other than the brothers and their *familia* to their service, from conferring sacraments, from collecting oblations, and from asking for tithes or any parochial duties, ADBdR, 56 H 5289. When the archbishop of Arles granted to the Temple the permission for a cemetery settlement near his oratory, he specifies that no parishioner to be buried there without his consent, E. Boëuf, *Édition du chartier de l'archevêché d'Arles (417-1202)*, thèse de l'École des Chartes, 1996, n° 82 (1152).

⁴⁹ Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 463-469.

⁵⁰ In Avignon, the bishop finally allowed to the Temple to build a chapel with a cemetery only after 1273. This permission followed rude negotiations and precisely enumerated the share of the tax paid by the burial place (*mortalagium*), that of legacies and of oblations that the Order will return to the chapter or to the parish, while cautioning him strictly against any attempted fraud. The spiritual duties were also carefully limited considering that the brothers find themselves prohibited from preaching and from conferring sacraments except to their community including the *familia*, AD Vaucluse, 1 G 5, fol. 17.

⁵¹ J. Chiffolleau, "Les transformations de l'économie paroissiale en Provence (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)," in A. Paravicini Bagliani, V. Pasche, eds., *La parrocchia nel Medio Evo. Economia, scambi, solidarietà*, Rome 1995, 65-83.

Lay association was another phenomenon which may shed some light on the popularity and the efficacy of the military orders of their office structures. Entering a religious order laics devoted themselves to an institution, often providing gifts upon their entrance, making various promises out of which the most popular were obedience, recognitory tax in form of annual payment, and shrouding in the cemetery of the convent.⁵² In return for those offerings, the *confrater* or the donor (*donatus*) benefited by being offered catering or lodging but he expected in general spiritual profits by joining the liturgical community. The benefits of the affiliation were mutual. In addition to the spiritual association haloed by prestige of the crusades, the *confrater* profited by a network of fellowship and by judicial privileges which were indicated by badges on their clothes.⁵³ By those expedients, military orders secured a clientage thus founding incomes for themselves from donations and burials which could more easily avoid the claims of the bishops and the chapters. It seems that urban commanderies did not exclusively recruit their members in the towns. Many people entered the houses of the two orders in Saint-Gilles to perform their *traditio* with the commander and still lived in the neighboring *castra*.⁵⁴ The geographical area in which some parts of the *confratres* were recruited overlaps with the map of the landed estates of the professed brothers of the two houses of Saint-Gilles. Their social status remained obscure. Most of the affiliates, based on the bequeathed goods, undoubtedly originated from the knightly class or from the layer of rich land-owners, but it would be misleading to identify the source of recruitment as elite.⁵⁵ Those „affiliation contracts“ which were set among the aristocratic elite from the first year of the existence of the order, could only be found from the 1170s and decreased quite rapidly in the first half of the thirteenth century.

⁵² Here we do not intend to go into either the details from differences between *confrater* and donors (*donati*), nor into the transition from one to the other status. This definition, much oversimplified because of the different existing ranks of affiliation, must be then augmented by C. de Miramon, *Les "donnés" au Moyen Âge. Une forme de vie religieuse laïque. v. 1180-v. 1500*, Paris 1999, 87-165 et 324-332; et D. Carraz, "L'affiliation des laïcs aux commanderies templières et hospitalières de la basse vallée du Rhône (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)," in A. Luttrell, F. Tommassi, eds. *Religiones militares. Contributi della storia degli Ordini religioso-militari nel medioevo*, Città di Castello 2008, 171-190.

⁵³ The privileged status that the *confratres* could expect of that kind of adhesion is well demonstrated by a sentence by the synod of Arles (1263) condemning the military orders which, in addition to the insignia of their religion, conferred on their *familiares* distinctive signs giving them the benefit of their exemptions and immunities from the prelates, J.-H. Albanès, U. Chevalier, *Gallia Christiana Novissima. Archevêché d'Arles*, Vol. 3, Valence 1901, n° 1233, art. 12.

⁵⁴ For the Temple: Néjan (1170, CaTSG, fol. 97v), Nîmes (1181, CaTSG, fol. 129-129v), Aubais (1191, CaTSG, fol. 115v-116v; 1196, CaTSG, fol. 138-138v), Vallabrègues (1202, 56 H 5302), Montfrin (1245, 56 H 5297).

⁵⁵ The entrance "contracts" of the confraternity were specifically written with the aim to keep track of the belongings or duty donations accompanying the religious deed. It is likely that the *traditio* of persons of modest resources was not registered in writing.

Despite the areas of obscurity, the overall goals seem to be a perfect adaptation between the aristocratic or land-owner urban elites and these orders: they knew how to meet the spiritual expectations of these townsmen.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the attitude of the urban authorities towards the military orders was more nuanced, ranging between mistrust and open hostility. From the point of view of the communes, what could be the orders' participation in the „common wealth“? Did they answer at least to their vocations? By their charitable activity, which is difficult to precisely evaluate the period prior to the papal investigations in 1338 and in 1373, the Hospitallers seem to have followed their hospitaller mission.⁵⁷ But it was not the only one in this situation: their commandery was one of the dozens of other charitable institutions in towns as Avignon or Arles also had – and public welfare seems to have played a less important role in its success. The military activity seems almost non-existent – except perhaps in some coastal towns which still sporadically experienced Saracen attacks.⁵⁸ One could raise questions concerning the penetration of fusion of the commanderies into the social and political life of the low Rhône river. On the other hand, the consulates seem to have felt the economic expansion of the commanderies as a potentially dangerous competition. In Arles the commune has introduced several means to stop the purchases of the lands of religious houses.⁵⁹ If military orders are not clearly mentioned, their prosperous economic and financial situation made them, more than any other institution, capable of expanding their possessions. In Marseille, the competition between the orders and the commune has affected commercial activity and the lucrative traffic of the pilgrims.⁶⁰ Finally, everywhere, from the second part of the thirteenth century, members of the communities tried to hinder the grazing activities of the commanderies by regulating access to the communal pastures to prevent overgrazing.⁶¹ Sometimes, the latent tension esca-

⁵⁶ About the manner in which the new orders of the twelfth century knew how to satisfy the traditional spirituality of the Provençal nobility: Mazel, *La noblesse*, 404–409.

⁵⁷ D. Le Blévec, *La part du pauvre. L'assistance dans les pays du Bas-Rhône du XII^e siècle au milieu du XV^e siècle*, Rome–Paris 2000, 68–124. With regard to the Temple, it was not particularly distinguished in that matter, but that was not its basic role.

⁵⁸ For example, in 1224, the lords of Toulon who established the Templars in their town allowed them to build fortifications on the seaside, Carraz, “*Causa defendende*,” 26–28.

⁵⁹ The urban statutes enacted between 1162 and 1202 prohibited all religious houses to purchase any lands on the Arles territory by any reason, C. Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit français au Moyen Age*, Paris 1864, Vol. 2, 239, art. n° 168. And in 1229, the podestà prohibited the donation *inter vivos* or the bequeathing to a religious house a building located in the town territory, L.-M. Anibert, *Mémoires historiques et critiques sur l'ancienne république d'Arles*, Arles 1781, 56.

⁶⁰ In 1230, the two orders complained to the high constables of the Kingdom of Jerusalem that the commune had prevented them from holding their boats in the sea-port for the transporting of merchants and pilgrims, H. Gérin-Ricard-Isnard, *Actes*, n° 470 et 485.

⁶¹ In Arles, the urban statutes defended themselves from the herd encroachments of the military orders on the communal pastures, Giraud, *Essai*, 239, art. n° 164. These measures were renewed in 1225 and 1228, while the succession of cases erupted at the end of the century, ending with the setting of boundaries on the pasture, E. Engelmann,

lated into violence by urban crowds whose borders were poorly established. This disagreement – undoubtedly caused by a certain economic pressure from the military orders – may have been accompanied by political differences supported by a deep anticlerical reaction. That is what the Arlesians' aggressions against the interests and the brothers of the Temple and the Hospital seem to indicate, probably in 1249.⁶² This matter can be interpreted as a revenge of some notables indebted to the orders,⁶³ but also as a result of the struggle led by the town against Charles of Anjou whose inclination towards the Templars and Hospitallers was suspected. Additionally, this violence did not affect the ecclesiastical circles, which also competed with the brothers.⁶⁴ In a context where the initial economic difficulties of the late Middle Ages were outlined, but which is also troubled by the consequences of the Albigensian crusade strong standing in Provence of the Angevin dynasty, the military orders clashed with urban communities that were more organized and envious of their economic situation as well as their political prerogatives. Also, the initial enthusiasm easily gave way to general mounting tensions perceptible from the first third part of the thirteenth century.

To sum up, what conclusion can be drawn concerning the settlements of the military orders in the towns of the Rhône river low valley? Having a closer look on their distribution in the area, it seems that some bishoprics fully expelled them. Thus the bishops of Vaison and Uzès who did not hinder their acts of charity but exclusively limited them to the rural sites, made efforts to keep these orders out of their cities. With regard to the diocese of Carpentras, it proved to be almost impenetrable. Towns were still found where military-religious brethren were present but they seem to occupy a marginal position or at least faced serious resistances. In Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, the bishops constantly questioned the first large donation of Pons de Grillon to the Templars and it seems that they suc-

Zur städtischen Volksbewegung in Südfrankreich. Kommunefreiheit und Gesellschaft. Arles (1200–1250), Berlin 1959, 127; et ADBdR, 56 H 5177, 56 H 5190, 56 H 5301.

⁶² D. Carraz, "Les ordres militaires face aux crises politico-religieuses de la basse vallée du Rhône (seconde moitié du XII^e–XIII^e siècle): un jeu ambigu? *L'anticléricalisme en France méridionale (milieu XII^e–début XIV^e siècle)*," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 38 (2003), 386–389. About the context of the opposition of the communes to the ecclesiastical power: J. Chiffolleau, "Les Gibelins du royaume d'Arles. Notes sur les réalités impériales en Provence dans les deux premiers tiers du XIII^e siècle," in P. Guichard, ed., *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques*, Lyon 1994, Vol. 2, 680–692.

⁶³ The economy of the military orders on the Arlesian territory particularly proceeded towards very profitable activities, like the salt-mine exploitation and the ovine breeding also carried on by the patrician families. Some of those members, knights and *probi homini*, became indebted to the orders from the beginning of the thirteenth century, E. Engelmann, *Zur städtischen*, 81–84.

⁶⁴ As the matter revealed in the 1229 regulation. One learns there that the canons and other Arlesian clerics apparently sheltered by the archbishop, invaded the Hospital's Saint-Thomas church, breaking down the gates, attacking the bells and taking sacred objects, ADBdR, 56 H 5021. The same deed reveals that the podestà has attacked the Hospital's possessions at the request of the archbishop, which demonstrates the imbrications of the religious, economic and political stakes.

ceeded in supplanting them from the city centre.⁶⁵ The order indeed chose to invest the antique suburban site of Saint-Vincent, but above all it concentrated its development in the country, as the large Richerenches commandery proves. In Saint-Gilles, the Temple and the Hospital subjected themselves to severe restrictions imposed by the Benedictine abbot, the mighty lord of the town, and for the greater part continued their territorial expansion beyond the walls and above all towards the hinterland of Gard and Camargue. In the eyes of a weakened or a willing authority, the orders had full discretion to develop themselves, as was the case for the Hospitallers of Orange who found there a diminished episcopal power and a benevolent princely authority. At any rate, the presence of the military orders was everywhere hit by contests rooted in religious and economic interests in competitive situations which became general for control of souls and for the exploitation of land as well as commercial incomes. In fact, comparing this exploitation to the deep entrenchment of many commanderies in the countryside, the integration of the Templars and the Hospitallers into the towns seems after all quite incomplete. Given these facts, one could draw a subtle conclusion about the urban presence of the orders. Yet, their commanderies all invested large agglomerations in the region and no site with a strategic interest – passage road, active harbor, political capital – was lost to them. In Arles, Saint-Gilles, Avignon or Marseille, their houses took part in the most important economic centers inside a network set by each order, but also scaled to the local activities. Everywhere they claimed to exercise a real spiritual function often with success, as the vitality of their lay association and the frequency of burial in their cemeteries prove. The presence of the Templar and the Hospitaller *militia* in towns of the low Rhône river was manifested in an undeniable economical influence, important religious and charitable activity and a probable political role.

In many ways, the military orders seem to have taken over the role of the traditional monastic communities established in town – but should be evaluated the religious and economic acquisitions. The urban area enables then to attribute importance to the hitherto neglected characteristic features of the military orders: that of a transitional model between traditional monasticism of Benedictine obedience and the new concept of regular life brought by mendicant orders. In many aspects of their urban presence – strained relations with other ecclesiastical authorities, overtures towards the lay circles, yearning to play a religious part – as well as their institutional organization – centralized, international and directly linked to the papacy – these orders reveal indeed the spiritual revival instigated by the mendicant movement. A systematic study of the military orders *in urbane* on a larger scale would probably contribute to our knowledge of the urban societies between the Gregorian crisis and the arrival of the mendicant orders and then help to define the religious transformation in the given period.

⁶⁵ Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 143–144.

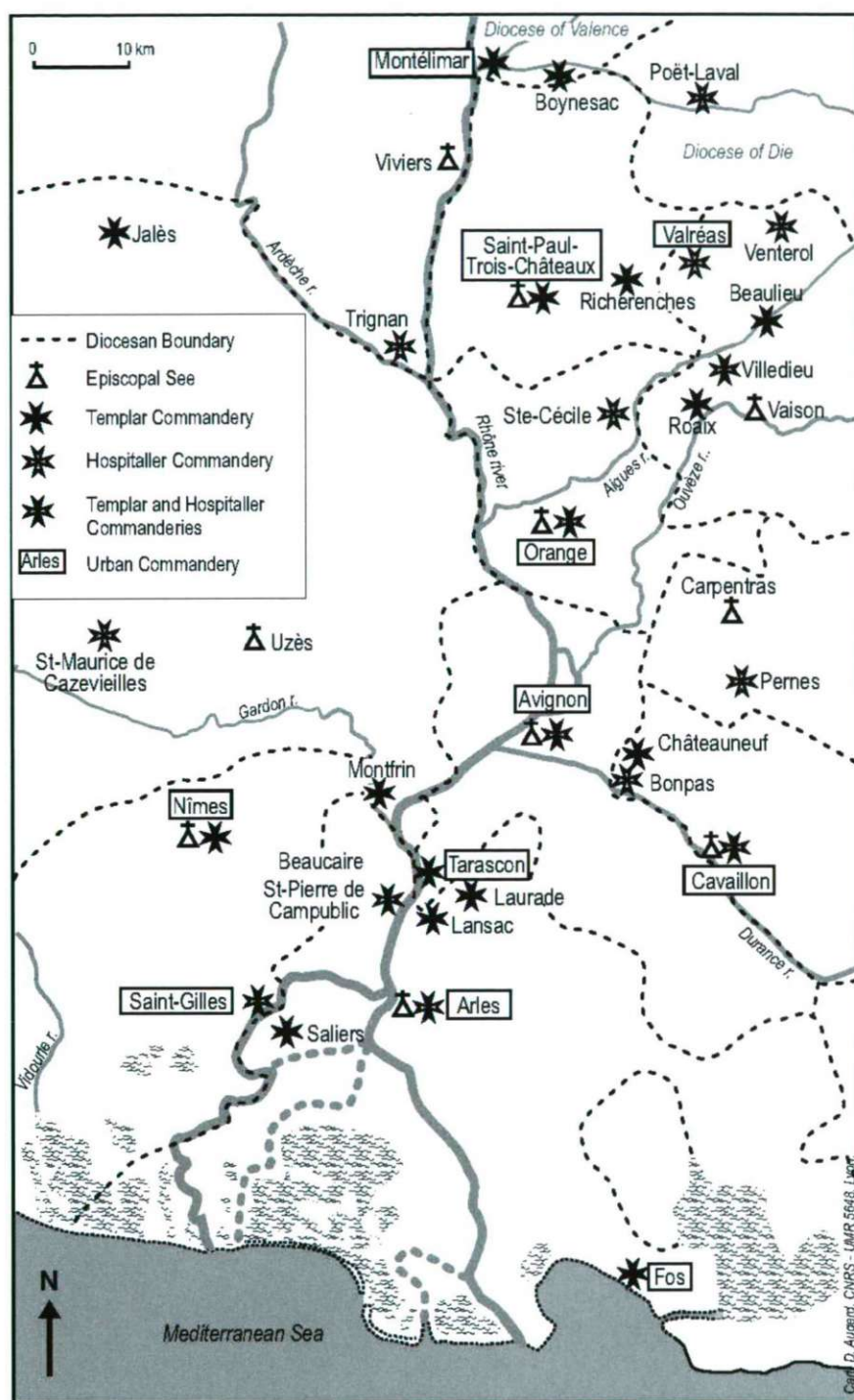


Fig. 1

Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies in the Lower Rhône Valley, c. 1200

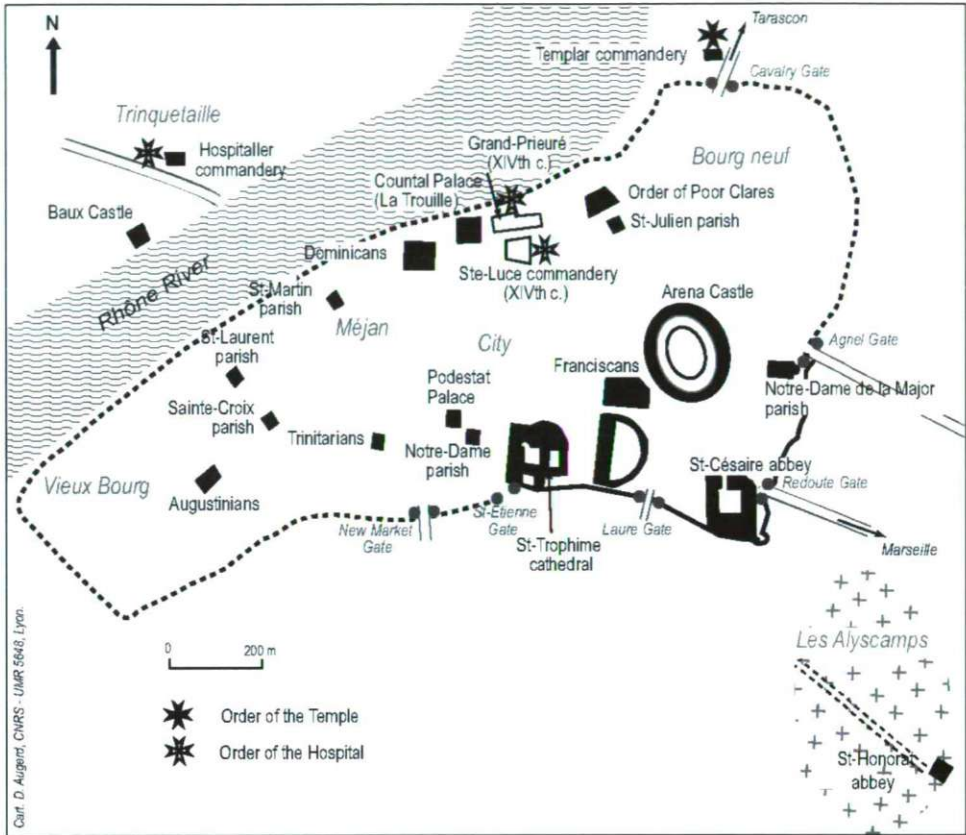


Fig. 2
ARLES in the Thirteenth Century

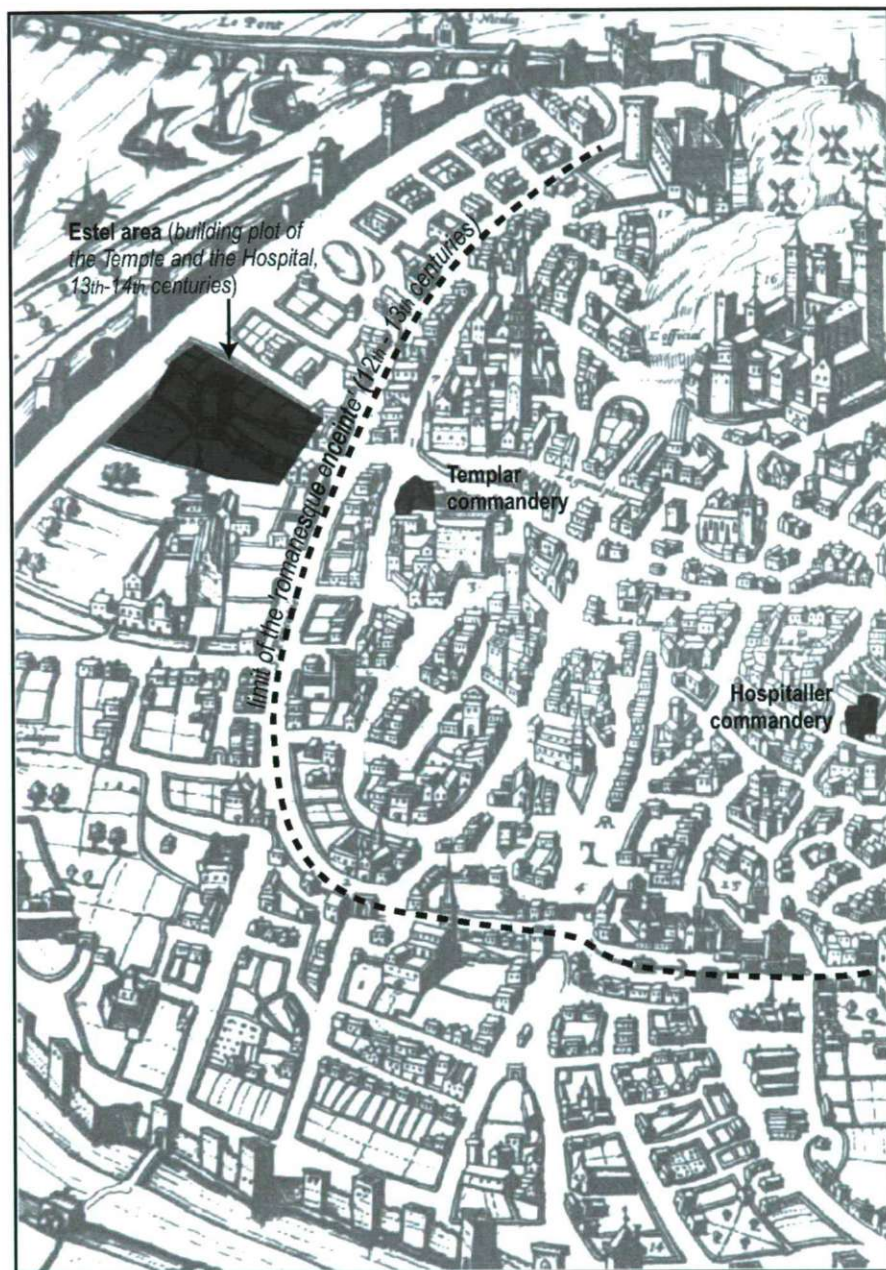


Fig. 3.

The Military Orders in Avignon

(detail of the „Plan aux personages”, published in G. Braun, F. Hogenberger, *Urbium proecipuarum mundi theatrum colonia*, 1572 (Avignon, bibliothèque municipale, Est. Atlas, 104/1). In Avignon, the Templars are on the limit of the „romanesque enceinte”, near the gate of *de militia* and the Rhône river. The Hospitallers are in the heart of the city, in the St. Pierre parish, near the Jewish area where they rent several houses.

Bemerkungen zum Nachleben von antiken Feldherrn- und Herosporträts

Die Gestalt von János Hunyadi in den Werken: *De Ioanne Corvino*
von P. Ransanus und *Ioannis Hunniadae res bellicae contra Turcas*
von Elias Corvinus

ERZSÉBET GALÁNTAI



In meinem Artikel möchte ich anhand der Werke: *De Ioanne Corvino* von P. Ransanus und *Ioannis Hunniadae res bellicae contra Turcas* von Elias Corvinus einen bescheidenen Beitrag zur Forschung des Weiterlebens der Antike leisten – ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit.

Wie bekannt, kam der aus Palermo gebürtige P. Ransanus¹ – Pietro Ransano; eine hervorragende Figur der italienischen, sowie auf Grund seines Werkes auch der ungarischen humanistischen Literatur – Bischof von Lucera als Gesandter des neapolitanischen Königs Ferdinand I. im Jahre 1488 nach Ungarn, an den Hof von König Matthias. Im Auftrag des königlichen Paares verfasste er hier sein für uns bekanntestes Werk, die *Epithoma rerum Hungararum*, die er König Matthias widmete. Als Grundlage für das Werk, das dem zeitgenössischen Geschmack entsprechend im humanistischen Stil entstand, diente ihm die neu erschienene *Chronica Hungarorum* von János Thuróczy (*Johannes de Thurocz*). Ransanus kam seinem Auftrag nach, indem er detaillierter auf die Hunyadis und auf Matthias eingeht.² Der Verfasser, ein bedeutender Gelehrter und Rhetor, übte zu dieser Zeit bereits eine bedeutende historiographische Tätigkeit aus: er war mit sechzig Büchern seines monumentalen Geschichtswerkes mit dem Titel *Annales omnium temporum* fertig. Das hier zu erörternde *opusculum De Ioanne Corvino* schloss er noch vor 1456 ab und brachte es mit nach Ungarn.

Eine der wichtigsten Lebensstationen des Autors war der Auftrag des Papstes im Jahre 1456, den Feldzug gegen die Türken von Sizilien aus zu organisieren. Während des Sieges bei Nándorfehérvár (*Nandoralbense castrum*, heute: Belgrad) und des Todes von János Hunyadi war unser Autor in Rom und nahm an der

¹ 1428–1492., sein cognomen nach seinem Geburtsort: *Panormitanus*.

² Vgl. Nachwort von L. Blazovich, E. Sz. Galántai, in P. Ransanus, *A magyarok történetének rövid foglalata*. Budapest 1999, S. 197–199., u. Gy. Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia* [Ungarische Historiographie] Bd. 1. Budapest 2002, S. 114–116.

päpstlichen Messe teil, die zu Ehren des großen Türkenschlächters zelebriert wurde.

Ransanus schildert in seinem *De Ioanne Corvino* den – aus der humanistischen Literatur bekannten – Herkunftsmythos³ der Familie Hunyadi und stellt den berühmten Feldherrn János Hunyadi und dessen ehrenvolle Taten dar. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient der Teil mit dem Titel: *Ioannis Blanci⁴ patria, genus, virtus*, der das eigentliche Hunyadi-Porträt enthält. Durch das ganze Werk ziehen sich – dem humanistischen Stil entsprechend – zahlreiche antike Reminiszenzen durch. Ein Großteil davon ist für den Leser aufgrund der Terminologie (hier vor allem aus dem Kriegswesen), des Stils, der Stimmung; eventuell des Metrum⁵ identifizierbar. Die erwähnten Reminiszenzen sind im Text jedesmal angebracht, ihre Anwendung kunstvoll.

Von der humanistischen *fama, gloria, virtus* bekommen insbesondere *Gloria* und *Virtus* Gewichtung im Hunyadi-Bild des Autors. Die mit Hilfe der *Virtus* erungene *Gloria* sichert dem Heros die *Fama* und *Immortalitas*.

Sehen wir dafür die Textbeispiele:

Eo genere Ioannes exortus a maiorum suorum virtute haudquaquam degeneravit ... (De Ioanne C. 57.)

Is hanc gloriam est inter omnes sui saeculi mortales consecutus ... cum nihil ei desit ex virtutibus, quibus nobilissimi copiarum duces eminere debent. ... (ibidem 60.)

His atque aliis multis praeditus virtutibus saepe cum Turcis pugnans ... (65.)
... a Corvino veterum gloria non modo non degeneravit, sed illorum etiam virtutem coequavit felicissime. (70.)

Die Berufung auf die *Virtus* der Vorfahren (*maiores!*) erinnert stark an Ciceros Reden. Es gibt dafür zahlreiche Beispiele in den Werken des berühmtesten römischen Redners.

Sehen wir uns einige der auffälligsten antiken Parallelen an!

... in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere: scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem ... virtutes imperatoriae ...: labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, ... celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo ... (Cicero: De imp. X. 28–29.)

³ Vgl. Zs. Teke, *Hunyadi János és kora* [Johannes Hunyadi und sein Zeitalter] Budapest 1980, S. 80–89, P. E. Kovács, *A Hunyadi-család* [Die Familie Hunyadi] in *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára*, Budapest 1990, S. 29–39. S. Csernus, „A 'Fehér lovag'. A Hunyadi-mítosz kérdéséhez a XV. századi francia irodalomban,” [Der „weiße Ritter“. Zur Frage des Hunyadi-Mythos in der französischen Literatur im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert] in *Tanulmányok Karácsonyi Béla hetvenedik születésnapjára*. Szeged 1989, S. 81–97.

⁴ Über die Herkunft vom cognomen *Blancus* siehe ausführlicher das oben zitierte Werk von Sándor Csernus.

⁵ Zum letzten siehe z.B. *Epithoma* XXXIV. 5–7.: *...dedit operam, ut multis in locis subiicerentur incendia, quibus rex et regii omnes somno vinoque sepulti concremarentur*. Vgl.: Verg. Aen. II. 265. *invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam*.

... *celeritas tamen, qua semper in rebus gerendis utitur*, (Rans. 61.)
laborum in eo mira patientia, alboris, famis, sitis, vigiliarum incredibilis tolerantia
 ... (ibidem)
 Vgl. z.B.: *Corpus patiens inediae, alboris, vigiliae* ... (Sallustius: Catilina V/3.)
Quom autem pervenero in mentionem eorum ... (Rans. 75.): Der Gebrauch vom
 archaischen *quom* erinnert an Sallust.

Besondere Beachtung verdient die Schilderung der Gestalt von Pompeius bei Cicero, ein eindeutig positives Feldherrnporträt, die eine ähnlich idealisierte Gestalt ist, wie stellenweise das Hunyadi-Bild bei Ransanus. Gleichzeitig ist aber festzustellen, dass Ransanus auch nach Objektivität strebt. Neben den ehrenvollen Taten des großen Türkenschlächters Hunyadi gedenkt er auch der Niederlagen:

... *septies illos (sc. Turcas) fudit* ... *bis ipsum illi profligavere* ... (Rans. 65.)

Aufgrund der eingehenden Untersuchung des Werkes – deren ausführliche Darstellung wegen des beschränkten Umfangs hier nicht möglich ist – ist zusammenfassend Folgendes festzustellen: Im Hunyadi-Bild von Ransanus, das mit dem Hunyadi-Gestalt der zeitgenössischen und kurz darauf folgenden europäischen Literatur im Einklang steht⁶ verschmelzen sich die Elemente der antiken Feldherrn- und Königsporträts speziell mit den wichtigsten Bestandteilen des humanistischen und christlichen Tugendskatalogs, sowie mit den Narrationen der mittelalterlichen Urkunden und mit den Kennzeichen von *Panaegyrici*⁷ und einigermaßen der christlichen Legenden.

Untersuchen wir im Folgenden die erwähnten Kennzeichen im Sinne der *Varietas delectat* in einem Kleinepos aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert mit dem Titel: *Ioannis Hunniadae res bellicae contra Turcas von Elias Corvinus!*

Einleitend einige Worte über den bei uns fast vergessenen, namhaften humanistischen Autor, Elias Corvinus, alias Rabener. Er erhielt sein *cognomen* *Ioachimicus* von seinem Geburtsort Sankt-Ioachimsthal. Er wird zu den größeren Talenten des späthumanismus gerechnet.⁸ Nach den ersten Studienjahren in Wittenberg und Wien studierte er in Padua Jura. Eine zeitlang hielt er sich auch in Rom und Ferrara auf. Im Jahre 1558 wurde er zum *poeta laureatus* gekrönt. Eine wichtige Station seines Lebens war, als er im Jahre 1572 in Ungarn gegen die Türken kämpfte.

Er schrieb in fast jeder Gattung der neulateinischen Lyrik, bevorzugte aber vor allem das christlich moralisierende Lehrgedicht.⁹ Ein wichtiges Werk aus dem

⁶ Vgl. Anm. 3.

⁷ Vgl. z.B. *Epitaphium* von János Hunyadi bei Janus Pannonius:

Iohannes iacet hic, Turcorum ille horror in armis

Ille gubernatae gloria Pannoniae ...

Pannoniae murus, Turcorum terror in armis, ...

⁸ Dazu W. M. Bauer, „Humanistische Bildungszentren,“ in *Deutsche Literatur, 2. Spätmittelalter, Reformation, Humanismus*. Hg. H. A. Glaser, Hamburg 1991, S. 268–269.

⁹ z.B. *Fundamentum totius Scripturae Sacrae*, 1559.

Jahre 1568 ist *Poematum libri duo*: mit epischen Stücken, die die Türkenkriege berühren. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach verfasste er auf die Motivation ungarischer Freunde – wie z.B. János Liszti (*Johannes Listius*) – nach dem Sieg bei Lepanto (1571) das Heldenlied von Hunyadi.

Das Kleinepos zeugt vor allem von starker Wirkung des großen römischen Vorläufers Vergil.¹⁰

Zu Beginn des Werkes, nach der Themenangabe,¹¹ wird der Hauptheld folgendermaßen bündig gekennzeichnet:

*Ille autem a proavis haudquaquam vilibus ortum
Duxerat, insigni genitus sed stirpe parentum;
Romulei generis Corvinos nomine et alta
Virtute aequabat penitus gentemque superbam
Reddebat pulchris ausis per Pannonia regna.
Ergo opibus felix multoque insignis honore,
Florebat late ac studio Martisque togaeque
Instructus rerum praelustria munia obibat
Et magis atque magis fato exurgebat in altum. (vv. 27–35.)*

János Hunyadis Figur fasst das Werk in einen Rahmen, ähnlich wie König Matthias' Person die *Epithoma* von P. Ransanus. Am Ende des *carmen epicum* sagt der Autor über den unsterblichen Ruhm von Vater und Sohn folgendes:

*Quanta per Ungariam virtus his edita dextris!
Vivite felices animae per sidera Olympi
Proque piis meritis caelestum praemia habete;
Nos vero immensam virtutem et nomina vestra,
Perpetuo gratis animis memorabimus aevo
Vestraque ponemus seclis exempla futuris. (vv. 1065–72.)*

Bezüglich des Ausdrucks *vestraque exempla* sei auf das Prinzip *historia docet* bei Cicero hinzuweisen.

Das ganze Werk ist von vergilianischen Reminiszenzen durchwoben, stellenweise ist auch die Wirkung anderer Klassiker nachzuvollziehen.¹²

Sehen wir uns einige von den auffälligsten Parallelen zu Vergil an!

¹⁰ Wie bekannt, tauchen im Katalog zu den Universitätsvorlesungen von Elias Corvinus in Wien 1578 die Aeneis von Vergil, Werke von Horaz, Ovid, sowie Kommentare zu Caesar, Sallust und Livius. Siehe dazu „Einleitung,“ in *Elias Corvinus: Ioannis Hunniadae res bellicae contra Turcas. Carmen epicum.* ed. O. Sárkány, Lipsiae 1937, S. 3–8.

¹¹ Vgl. *Me iuvat interea recubantem in margine ripae ...*
Pannoniae antiquas memori res condere versu
Virtutesque referre viri laudataque gesta
Hunniadae ... (vv. 8–12.)

¹² Wie z.B. von Tibull u. Ovid: E. Corv. 478. *Vidit et obstipuit ...* vgl.: Ovid. Metam. VIII. 218–219. (*hos*) ... *vidit et obstipuit.*

Fit via virtuti. ... (v. 174.)

Fit via vi ... (Aen. II. 494.)

Dixerat atque equitum turmas peditumque maniplos ... (v. 241.)

Dixerat ... et ... (Aen. IV. 238.)

Pars ruere ad ferrum, pars impia vertere terga (v. 337.)

Pars gladios stringunt manibus, pars missile ferrum corpiunt ... (Aen. XII. 278-79.)

Ecce autem ... (v. 481.)

Ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta ... (Aen. II. 203.)

Urbs eversa iacet, Turcae dominantur in arce. (v. 775.)

... incensa Danaï dominantur in urbe. (Aen. II. 237.)

Tanti cura fuit patriae servire deoque. (v. 1045.)

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem. (Aen. I. 33.)

Besonders zu beachten sind die Ausdrücke, die die Vergöttlichung (*apotheosis*) der Helden implizieren, sowie die übereinstimmenden grammatischen Konstruktionen. Die Schlußzeilen des Werkes schildern die Vergöttlichung der Hunyadis, für die es ebenfalls Muster aus der antiken Lyrik und Prosa gibt.

Beachtenswert ist auch die Rhetorizität des Werkes, die gleichfalls antiken Vorläufern folgt.¹³ Die Reden bieten dem Autor eine Möglichkeit, die Personen indirekt zu charakterisieren und geben einen Anlass, dem Leser seine vielseitige Bildung vorschweben zu lassen. Daneben verleihen sie dem Werk eine rhetorische Färbung.

Aufgrund des oben gesagten kann festgestellt werden, dass die untersuchten Feldherrnporträts sowohl miteinander als auch mit dem zeitgenössischen und bald darauf folgenden Hunyadi-Bild der ungarischen sowie der europäischen humanistischen Literatur im Einklang stehen.

¹³ Siehe dazu vv. 233-240.:

Imo, ait, o cives, nunc nunc datur hora ferocem

Monstrandi virtutem animosque sub astra levandi.

Nunc mecum aut patriam laeti defendite cives

Christicolasque aras aut pulchrae occumbite morti. ...

Sic credite et ite

In duos mecum casus famamque perennem. Vgl. ex. gr.: Sall. Cat. XX., Livius XLV. 43. 5.

Invest in Heaven

The Religious Market of the Hungarian Parish in the Later Middle Ages

GABRIELLA ERDÉLYI



"The friars [...] neglected the convent in terms of divine service as well as the number of friars so much, that only three, two or even one, occasionally not even one friar lived there. In this way, there was such a huge deficit of not only primes and other canonical hours, but holy masses, said or sung, too, that sometimes there was no mass celebrated at all [...]. If, by papal authority, the convent had not been provided for by introducing other friars of better life in place of the Augustinians, the convent would have totally and fatally devastated."¹ The articles put against the Augustinian friars in the market town of Körmend were framed primarily in religious terms. They were designed to legitimize *post factum* the reform of the convent. In this case, the reform meant that the Augustinians were expelled and observant Franciscans took their place. In 1517, when the articles were formulated, observant Franciscan friars lived in the convent.²

The other set of arguments was morality, or rather immorality, which mirrored the familiar figure of the womanizing and drunkard friar, typical and central figures of contemporary common talk and literary genres of all sorts.³ "In the taverns of the market town and villages the friars gorged and guzzled with peasants, just as they squabbled and quarrelled, and words often turned into fist-fights and blood [...]. They took bad women and women of ill repute into the convent and the refectory, where they conversed with them contrary to the rules

¹ *The Register of a Convent Controversy*, ed. G. Erdélyi, *Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae*, Tom. I. Budapest-Rome 2006, 27.

² On the reconstruction of the process and related events see: G. Erdélyi, *Egy kolostorper története. Hatalom, vallás és mindennapok a középkor és újkor határán* [The Story of a Convent's Case. Power, Religion and Everyday Life at the Turn of the Middle Ages and Modern Times] Budapest 2005, 21–53.

³ E. Fuchs, *Az újkor erkölcstörténete* [The History of Morals of Modern Times] 3 vols, Budapest 1926, I: The Renaissance; H. Horváth, ed., *Az apácafülkötő. Régi olasz novellák* [The Nun Hood. A Collection of Old Italian Short Stories] Budapest, 2003. On theological, legal and penitential literature see D. Elliott, *Fallen Bodies. Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia 1999, *passim*.

of religious life."⁴ The agents of reform – Thomas Bakócz, the powerful cardinal-primate as well as local landlord, and his legal representatives – furthermore legitimized their interference in local affairs by referring to the interests of the laity. "Due to all this, parishioners were scandalized extremely, their devotion towards the church of the Virgin Mary dwindled and generated open contempt and disdain towards the clerical order and the clergy in general."⁵

The rhetoric of the agents of reform was echoed by the witnesses interrogated in the course of the process. They valued the Augustinians and their own reactions to the friars' behavior with similar phraseology. They represented the general attitude, the scandal, toward the friars as anxiety, anger and contempt. The discursive strategies of the agents of reform suggest that the reform of a convent could not be argued for with other than religious and moral themes. The narratives of the witnesses show that people understood and responded to this language and argumentation. Religion and morality were issues of great authority in the early sixteenth century. This study seeks to understand better the efficacy of the above rhetoric by reconsidering the nature of late medieval piety at parish level.

In order to make it more comprehensible to the modern mind what exactly worried the people – peasants and petty nobles, artisans, merchants – living in the market town and the neighboring villages, we must closely read the witness depositions. Their narratives suggest that first and foremost they called the Augustinians to account for not holding the prescribed divine services in the convent church. As rendered by one of the nobleman of Rádóc: "there were not as many services as there should have been in such an outstanding friary, due to which the people living here became so indignant, that many complained of how these magnificent buildings were lacking in friars and services."⁶

Considered that even without the friars, there were at least eight priests and numerous clergymen living in Körmend, then perhaps the indignation and despair of the town-dwellers is a little surprising. If they wanted to attend mass, they could have gone to the parish church dedicated to St. Elizabeth, or to the old parish church of St Martin in the north-western part of the town, where an altarist was employed. As the parish priest also employed a chaplain, and there were cleric students as well as a schoolmaster in the parsonage school, even public holy hours could have been sung at the laity's request.⁷ Moreover, as well as the high altar, four side-altars and their altarists are also known. The question arises: why then parishioners were so attached to the friars and their services.

The article is divided into four main sections. First, I describe the religious supply in the town, focusing on the role of the parishioners in providing for the town clergy and the churches. It will be shown that there was an intense lay de-

⁴ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 28.

⁵ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 28.

⁶ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 97.

⁷ An urban example for this lay demand: E. Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*, [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary] Budapest 1971, 140.

mand for the clergy and the rituals performed by them, and parishioners were ready to invest financially in maintaining them, even if it involved considerable additional expenses obligatory church duties. Second, I seek to interpret their behavior as a symptom of the eucharistic and penitential devotional culture of the time, which was regulated in practice by the principle of intercession and the institution of good works. Then, in the third section, the potential offer of the mendicant convent will be mapped in the spiritual market of the town. In conclusion, I suggest that the divergent strands of late medieval religious culture generated a kind of "consumer mentality" of the sacred, which, in our specific case, meant that the religious rhetoric of the agents of convent reform was effective, since it coincided with the townsmen's hope that the Observant friars would serve them with better and cheaper services.

In terms of Hungarian historiography, the early and splendid monograph of Lajos Pásztor on late medieval piety fulfilled the role of rehabilitating the state of Catholicism in the parishes in pre-reformation Hungary.⁸ More recently, authors structure their narratives of late medieval piety along ritual lines. As a result, we have monographs on our hand dedicated to certain religious institutions: long-distance pilgrimages, pious donations, lay confraternities.⁹

Recently it has been comprehensively – and, to my understanding, convincingly – argued in an English context that late medieval piety was distinctive for its powerful image of the suffering Christ.¹⁰ The image of Christ on the Cross occupied the central place taken in earlier centuries by Mary with the Child. In terms of religious behaviors and rituals, the Christocentric turn of late medieval piety is tangible in the growing emphasis and power of the ritual manifestations and manifold uses of the body of Christ – displacing from the focus the relics of saints –, among them mass attendance and the reception of the Eucharist. The eucharistic focus of late medieval piety is richly documented and discussed in the literature dedicated to the nature of late medieval piety.¹¹ Another strand of studies is dedicated to the sacrament of penance and the ritual of confession, primar-

⁸ L. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [The religious life of Hungarians in the age of the Jagiellos] Budapest 1940. (reprint 2000).

⁹ E. Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Hungarian Pilgrims in Medieval Europe] História Könyvtár, Monográfiák 20, Budapest 2003. J. Majorossy, *Church in Town: Urban Religious Life in Late Medieval Pressburg in the Mirror of Last Wills*, PhD Dissertation, Budapest: Central European University, 2006. For confraternities see the latest article (with further literature): J. Majorossy, "A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében," [The Corpus Christi Confraternity in the life of the citizens of Pozsony' (Bratislava)], in *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. században*, ed. E. Csukovits–T. Lengyel, Budapest 2005, 253–291. M. M. de Cevins, "Les confréries en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge: l'exemple de la confrérie 'Mere de Miséricorde' de Bardejov (1449–1525)," *Le Moyen Âge* 106 (2000), 347–368.

¹⁰ C. Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England*, Cambridge 2003, *passim*.

¹¹ The most comprehensive and recent work, with the earlier literature cited, on late medieval eucharistic piety: M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1991.

ily based on confessional manuals.¹² Due to the bottom-up perspective and problem-centered approach applied here, the eucharistic and penitential character of late medieval piety, traditionally represented separately, will appear here as an integrated whole.

The town's spiritual market

The parish priest of Körmend seems not to have been chosen by the congregation, but the landlord presented his own candidate to the bishop of Győr.¹³ Parish priest István arrived in the town at the time when Péter of Erdőd became its landlord, whom he called his patron at the hearing. Even so, maintaining the parish priest involved no insignificant financial burden for the parishioners. In simple parishes (not privileged) like Körmend, the incumbent received only a small part of the tithe – if he received any.¹⁴ Consequently, paying him fell increasingly on members of the community, who owed him parochial tax and payment in kind or cash for liturgical services and special ceremonies (weddings, funerals, baptisms).¹⁵ Over and above this, however, the majority gave voluntarily and generously, in the form of pious donations and legacies, to have masses said for family members' and their own salvation, or for the maintenance of the church and parish buildings (*pro fabrica*).¹⁶ The latter was motivated not by ecclesiastical, but

¹² The classical work is N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton 1977.

¹³ The nomination of the parish priest was not included in the town's letter of privilege (1244). Zs. Bándi, *Körmend a középkorban* [Körmend in the Middle Ages] Körmend 1987, 14. The *ius patronatus* could occasionally be separated from the right to nominate the parish priest in case the patron conveyed this right to the congregation. A. Kubinyi, "Plébánosválasztások és egyházközségi önkormányzat a középkori Magyarországon," [The nomination of parish priests and self-government of parish communities in medieval Hungary] in A. Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*, METEM Könyvek 22, Budapest 1999, 270.

¹⁴ On the contest between the middle and the lower clergy over the tithe in the diocese of Győr and elsewhere see Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 49–53. In the second half of the fifteenth century the chapter of Vasvár and of Győr litigated over a part of the tithe of the market town Vasvár and the surrounding villages. P. Kóta, *Regeszták a vasvári káptalan levéltárának okleveleiről* [Extracts of the diplomes of the archives of the chapter Vasvár (1130) 1212–1525] Vas megyei levéltári füzetek 8, Szombathely 1997, nos. 414, 605.

¹⁵ On the incomes of parish priests see F. Kollányi, *A párbér jogi természetéhez* [On the legal character of 'párbér'] Budapest 1908. Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 138; I. Szabó, *A középkori magyar falu* [The Medieval Village in Hungary] Budapest, 1969, 200–204; L. Solymosi, "Egyházi és világi (földesúri) mortuarium a 11–14. századi Magyarországon," [Ecclesiastical and secular (manorial) mortuarium in Hungary in the 11–14th centuries] *Századok* 121 (1987), 547–562.

¹⁶ Among the legacies of testators in Sopron the ones „zum paw” were the most frequent. K. Szende, "A soproni középkori végrendeletek egyház- és tárgytörténeti tanulságai," [The church- and object historical lessons of medieval wills of Sopron] *Soproni Szemle* 44 (1990), 269. On votive masses see below.

primarily by communal customs and expectations. In market towns and villages alike, these funds were administered – separately from the parish priest's revenues – by churchwardens (*vitricus*) elected by the parishioners.¹⁷ In Körmend, we know of such an official in the convent church: it was Pál Nagy who "because of his office and by the will of the townsmen, as he was the churchwarden," directed the construction works of the convent, which was covered by donations of the people.¹⁸

This suggests that the town community probably laid claim on the administration of pious donations in the other churches, too. Therefore, the parish priest's welfare, alongside the revenue from his farming, was dependent to a large extent on the fees in return for the performance of liturgical services. In turn, this depended to a large extent on lay demand for sacraments and votive masses. The employment of a chaplain (or chaplains) also depended to a great extent on the laity's liturgical needs, sometimes even stipulations. Chaplains shared the fees for these services with their parish priest, which was regulated by contract. In Körmend, the employment of chaplains seems to have been regular. Father Illés of Morác, who was parish priest of Csákány village in 1518, had previously been employed as chaplain in Körmend.¹⁹ When prior to this, Illés had been a student in the Körmend school, as he related in his deposition, "for want of friars, from time to time he had sung mass with his fellow students on high days in the convent." Another onetime student, father Miklós of Szecsőd, parish priest in his native village, had similar memories about his student years. The career of Balázs of Gyarmat differed only slightly from his schoolmates: after his studies, he served in Körmend as schoolmaster before taking on his shoulders the pastoral care of the villagers of Szentkirály.²⁰

As the schools in Körmend, parsonage schools in market towns and villages fulfilled several functions. On the one hand, the basic education of the children of Körmend and surroundings was carried out within its walls (reading, writing, arithmetic and religious instruction). The senior students, then, who were preparing for a career as priests, together with the head of the school, were assistants to the parish priest: while they shared with the chaplain a portion of the sum received for the ceremonies, their task was to enhance the grandeur of the divine services. Besides this, they rang the bells, and on feast days they organized mys-

¹⁷ Kubinyi, "Egyház és város," 295.

¹⁸ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 157.

¹⁹ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 116. Joannes de Halogy, an altarist in Körmend in 1562 was previously also a chaplain. Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Familienarchiv Erdődy, Kt. 96, fasc. 8, no. 15. According to Mályusz, the living conditions of chaplains developed in the later medieval period due to the increase of lay liturgical demands. Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 142.

²⁰ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 116 (father Illés Moráci); father Miklós Szecsődi: "*Dicit etiam testis habuisse conversationem cum dictis fratribus, quoniam etiam ibidem cum aliis scolaribus propter defectum fratrum fuisset vocatus et cantasset missam.*" Erdélyi, *The Register*, 144. Father Balázs Gyarmati, Erdélyi, *The Register*, 135–139.

tery plays.²¹ For instance, Ascension-day was made memorable in Körmend by their presentation of the ascension of Christ.²² The cleric students, satisfying with a modest education and career, ended up as village priests of the region.

The altarists were also at the disposal of the parishioners. Five altarists ministered in Körmend, whose income was provided by donations from the laity. They operated in relative independence from the parish priest, under the patronage of their founder, who, however, may have entrusted either the parish priest or the congregation to nominate the incumbent. The foundation of altars and chapels presupposed the availability of considerable disposable (i.e. acquired as opposed to inherited) real estates.²³ Therefore, even the urban elite of free royal cities could seldom afford it,²⁴ while the beneficed altars in Körmend, with perhaps one exception, were founded by the magnate landlords of the town. We are best informed about the foundation of the altar to the Virgin Mary in St. Elisabeth parish church: Barbara of Szécs, the widow of landlord Bertold Ellerbach, in exchange for one tenth of the income from a Körmend and a Szecsőd mill, requested in 1485 that a mass to be said every day by the altarist. However, the parish priest may have retained for himself, since later on János Ellerbach, the son of Borbála of Szécs, summoned the parish priest to employ a priest for this benefice, supplemented with one tenth of the income from the other Körmend mill. The beneficiaries of the St. Catherine altar in the parish church (Albert of Nagyliszka) and of the altar to the dead in St. Martin's church (Lőrinc of Körmend), both heard at the interrogation, named Péter of Erdőd as their patron. These altars were therefore also founded by the landlord. No details survive, though, about the circumstances under which the Holy Cross and St. Nicholas altars were founded in the parish church.²⁵

²¹ R. Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [The history of popular education in Hungary until 1540] Budapest 1906, 21–51.

²² "*in oppido Kermend et in platea magna oppidi eiusdem in domo circumspecti Iohannis Zabo tunc iudicis dicti oppidi, ubi testis convenisset ad videndum representari per scolares et rectorem scole ascensionem Domini.*" Erdélyi, *The Register*, 134. Cf. J. Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete* [The ecclesiastical history of Sopron in the middle ages] Győregyházmegye múltjából VI, Sopron 1939, 240–243.

²³ For example a village with a mill and two meadows as an altarist benefice (in Illava, by the magnate Balázs Magyar, in 1489-ből) Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 147–149. For examples of chapel foundations see Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete* 77, 90–91.

²⁴ The 80% of the medieval wills of the burghers of Sopron have donations *propter anime salutem*. Only a small part of them (18 persons) can afford the foundation of an altar, some of them for their own sons. The number of perpetual chantries (weekly masses) was higher than 81,6%). Szende, "A soproni középkori végrendeletek,".

²⁵ On the altars to the Virgin Mary and to the Dead: Bándi, *Körmend a középkorban*, 71–72, 91, n. 120. On the incumbents of Holy Cross altar see: I. Gy. Tóth, *Jobbágyok, hajdúk, deákok. A körmendi uradalom társadalma a 17. században* [Peasants, Soldiers and Students. The social history of the Körmend manor in the seventeenth century] Értkezések a Történeti Tudományok Köréből, új sorozat 115, Budapest 1992, 140. On the altarist of the St. Nicholas altar see: Erdélyi, *The Register*, 45.

Urban communities and guilds of the free royal cities occasionally established a chapel and maintained them.²⁶ However, foundation of new benefices seems to have exceeded the financial means of the parishioners in a market town. Town-dwellers could augment their means of salvation by endowing existing beneficiaries with perpetual or temporal chantries.²⁷ In spite of this, it appears that the people of Körmend were not at all satisfied with their situation: alongside the eight priests and numerous clerical students, they insisted on the Augustinian friars' services, despite the financial burdens associated with this. In case they had managed to restore the convent community to its full size of twelve friars, the number would have amounted to around twenty priests (and numerous clerical students) for 650 town-dwellers. This results in a scale of one priest for every thirty two persons, which would have equaled the clerical provision of free royal cities in Hungary or even some western European cities.²⁸

In general, it seems that the townsmen had a huge demand for the clergy and their liturgical services as well as a readiness to invest financially in maintaining them. Their indignation mixed with despair, when their expectations were frustrated and they waited in vain for the friars celebrating morning mass in the convent church.

The economy of the sacred

For the late medieval mind, the manifestations of the sacred within the material world established the principle of order. Liturgical rites as well as the rites of passage of the individual's life-cycle regulated both the sacred and the social order.²⁹ Late medieval people could experience the sacred most regularly within the liturgy of the mass. In the mass, the emphasis fell on transubstantiation, the true presence of Christ in the host, which represented the most elementary manifestation of the sacred.³⁰ As the transformation could only be performed by a consecrated priest, the popular magical world and the Church's control were both evi-

²⁶ The community of Pozsony (now Bratislava) raised a chapel to the honor of St. Sebastian at the time of the 1502 plague, and established a guild in the Franciscan church to maintain it. T. Ortway, *Geschichte der Stadt Preßburg*, II/4, Pozsony 1903, 526, 528. The city of Sopron in the second half of the fourteenth century also built a chapel, which was then maintained by the 'citizens' guild.' Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete*.

²⁷ For wills of town-dwellers and their pious donations see: Hungarian National Archives (=MOL) DL 46538; V. Bunyitay et al., eds., *Egyháztörténelmi Emlékek a Magyarországi Hitújítás korából* [Sources on Church History at the Time of the Reformation] 5 vols. Budapest 1902-1912, 1: no. 66.

²⁸ Sopron had 3,000 inhabitants with ten ecclesiastical institutions (with a Franciscan convent). Calculating with 100 clergymen (only in the parish church there were 20 side-altars) the ratio of clergy to laity was 1:30. Szende, "A soproni középkori végrendeletek," 270.

²⁹ The concept is constructed and discussed in detail by R. Scribner, "Cosmic order and daily life: sacred and secular in pre-industrial German society," in Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, London 1987, 2-16.

³⁰ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 12-35, 83-107.

dent here. In the later Middle Ages, as historians argue, parishioners generally received the eucharist once a year, at Easter, after they had confessed.³¹

Official expectations in Hungary were conceived in accordance with the universal code: "during Lent, the people should be admonished to prepare for confession and the eucharist, so that everyone can confess and receive communion on resurrection day" – as the bishop of Veszprém directed his priests in 1515.³² Our scanty data suggest that the Church registered what was in practice. During the days following the latest designated time for Easter confession (Holy Thursday), almost all (33 of the 36) the lay witnesses interrogated in course of the process in Körmend, declared they had "made confession and received the eucharist around Easter time." The constantly repeated remark of late medieval diocesan councils ("as the faithful usually receive the eucharist once a year") also suggest that the custom was to take communion once a year.³³

It seems that confessions were heard during Holy Week, and according to local custom, the confessor was entitled to a *denarius* from men, and a loaf of bread from women.³⁴ People acted rationally: they went to confess as close to the time of receiving the eucharist as possible. The parish priests, though, had to exhort people to cleanse their conscience from their sins as early as possible during the period of Lent.³⁵ The diocesan council of Lőcse (Lečova, Slovakia) even provided the parish priests with the practical advice to ring the bells at an appropriate hour every day during the first half of Lent, thus inviting the people for confession. Early confession was urged first of all so that the priests could detect sins reserved for episcopal or papal absolution, a list of which was announced from the

³¹ The IV Lateran Council (1215) made Easter confession to the parish priest and communion obligatory. *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo et al., Bologna 1973, 245. On the practice of confession see: Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 70–82; V. Reinburg, "Liturgy and the laity in late medieval and Reformation France," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992), 539–541.

³² L. Solymosi, ed., *A veszprémi egyház 1515. évi zsinati határozatai* [The synodical decretals of the diocese of Veszprém in 1515] Budapest 1997, 98: line 1397–1399. The central role of communion is well reflected by the fact that the synod of Veszprém added the most detailed and lengthiest amendments to earlier decrees when describing the sacraments of confession and communion, and its liturgy in both kinds (!). (These amendments will be always signaled below in brackets). On earlier diocesan synods see: A. Szentirmai, "Die ungarische Diözesansynode im Spätmittelalter," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonische Abteilung* 47 (1961), 266–292.

³³ Solymosi, *A veszprémi egyház*, 60: line 397–398.

³⁴ The general practice is revealed by the abuse of the greedy parish priest of Szentpéter and Nagyszentpál, who demanded more. Hungarian National Archives [MOL] Archive of Diplomes [DL] 14548 (1452). See moreover: Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete*, 334.

³⁵ See the exempla concerning confession in the sermon-models of Pelbartus de Temeswar. *Pomerium sermonum Quadragesimalium* [Pom. Quad.], I, 12, N. These sermons were designed for and used by the lower clergy in their preaching to the simple folk, therefore it makes sense to consider them as a source for the knowledge and behavior of the lower clergy.

pulpit each Sunday in Lent. In spite of this, many deferred confessing until the end of Lent. This is suggested by the fact that only those were punished who did not go to confession even then.³⁶

Confession and communion, however, were not only the central sacramental rituals of the feasts commemorating the passion and resurrection of Christ. They were also inextricably linked to the individual's death. The practice can be approached via surviving records of extraordinary cases. It was the custom for the dying ill to bequeath something to the parish priest in exchange for hearing their confession. Certain insatiable parish priests tried to make a law out of the custom, and would not bury the dead until the heirs had paid out the usual amount. We read in a witness testimony commenting the abuses of the Nagyszentpál parish priest, that "due to the sensual idleness of the parish priest, one of the peasants departed from this world without either confession or the last rites", and because of such cases, the peasants are moving to other estates. The great significance attributed to last confession is also suggested by the fact that even in a legal report on a feud mentioned that an ill person who had been dragged out of bed, "departed without confessing his soul," whilst being threatened.³⁷

However, the thesis which contrasts regular confession and communion widespread in the Modern Age with the annual practice in later medieval times must be slightly modified. Pilgrims setting out in crowds on the feasts of Christ, Mary and the saints, as well as on the anniversaries of the consecration of shrines, could only hope for indulgence for sins they had confessed. Partaking in the holy eucharist was also a precondition for indulgences.³⁸ Along with this, it is difficult to say how much the clerical admonition to repent and confess as often as possible above the obligatory minimum, struck a receptive chord among parishioners. The institution of private confessors, evidenced in a broad scale among the aristocracy and the urban elite, certainly allows for the assumption that many confessed frequently.³⁹ Even the Church itself, however, did not recommend regular participation in the eucharist, but just more than once, or perhaps two to four

³⁶ C. Péterffy, *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Romano Catholicae in Regno Hungariae celebrata ab anno Christi MXVI usque ad annum MDCCXXXIV*, 2 vols., Posonii 1741–1742, 1: 193.

³⁷ MOL DL 14548; DL 14694 (1453); DL 105546 (1526). See moreover the expression of fear of sudden death, without taking the eucharist in manuscript prayer books. A. F. Molnár, "Két régi ima az oltáriszentségről," [Two old prayers on the eucharist] *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 148 (2000), 16–17.

³⁸ See the privileges of indulgence granted for churches under construction: MOL DL 15499 (1460), 14671 (1453). For further examples: Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 144–145. Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*.

³⁹ Pelbartus de Temeswar, Pom. Quad., I, 35, *sermo de confessione frequenter facienda pro gratia amplianda*. Antoninus Florentinus (1389–1459), archbishop of Florence, in his very popular manual on confession (*Confessionale*), published also in Buda in 1477, recommended to confess monthly. *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok* 3. [Old Hungarian Prints 3] For papal dispensations for private confessors: P. Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei* [Breves of fifteenth century popes] *Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár* 1–2, I–II, Budapest 1931–1938, passim.

times a year, on major feast days.⁴⁰ The ecclesiastical concern is well reflected by a decree of the council of Veszprém in 1515, admonishing the lower clergy to prevent people from taking the eucharist frequently through enhancing reverence for the host:

If we contemplate the greatness of the most holy body and the divine majesty, we could find nothing to evoke in us deeper reverence than this sacrament. In adoration and participation in this, we can fulfill the devotion necessary for our salvation; nevertheless, we may not omit anything of which we are capable by human effort. So let the priests be attentive and circumspect during administration of this sacrament and unification with the divine, that the irrational populace approach this sacrament, worthy of unconditional adoration, not only with piety, but also with fear. First and foremost, though, the priests must not present the living and heavenly bread to the Christian faithful broken and in pieces, but have them receive the eucharist in small, round form, which by care and devotion are more suitable for avoiding having women take communion too often.⁴¹

The final lines testify to the contemporary perception of women as being outstandingly devout.⁴² As has been plausibly argued, the differentiation of religious practices of men and women was not, as traditionally assumed, recognition of an innate female religiosity. Gendered differences in ritual practice rather reflected the division of roles within the household, women having a considerable field of action in public religious rituals (e.g. rites surrounding birth and death).⁴³ On the other hand, the clerical concern rested on the traditional representation of women as lustful temptresses. Writers of pastoral advice summoned priests that women who came to confess often must be heard only briefly and publicly.⁴⁴

Behind the clerically suggested attitude towards the eucharist of deference mixed with fear lie the manifold prescriptions that made it very difficult for parishioners to meet the requirements for worthy communion (strict fast and abstinence, perfect penitence and sacramental confession). As a result, ambivalence of desire and fear, of transmitting aid and – if taken unworthily – harm, surrounded the body of Christ. The process of popular appropriation of Church teachings generated a special cult. In the later middle ages, alongside the annual sacramental communion, the regular practice of spiritual communion became particularly widespread. While the Church attributed the effect of transmitting divine grace to the practice, parishioners expected first and foremost healing and protection

⁴⁰ P. Browe, *Häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter*, Münster 1938, 28–29. Ecclesiastical literature stressed the importance of clerical communion on behalf of the laity. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 50.

⁴¹ Solymosi, *A veszprémi egyház*, 98: line 1388–1396 (amendment).

⁴² C. W. Bynum, "Women mystics and eucharistic devotion in the thirteenth century," in C. W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York 1992, 119–150.

⁴³ Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, 15–19.

⁴⁴ Florentinus, *Confessionale*, 24.

from looking upon the elevated host following the moment of transubstantiation.⁴⁵ It seems a reasonable argument that this kind of magical use of the eucharist influenced the layfolk to attend the ritual of the mass more frequently than expected by the Church on Sundays and feast days.⁴⁶ As becomes clear from the testimonies of the Körmen-d witnesses, attending mass formed part of people's daily routines: whoever came into town to attend to his affairs, would also drop into the convent church for mass. The zeal of nobleman Pál Nagy of Kemesmál is perhaps no exception: "he would go to the convent every day, when they were celebrating mass, and he visited the church regularly both before his being castellan and during his time, but also after he had been removed from office."⁴⁷ Of course, many just waited for the elevation of Christ's body, as Church ordinances forbidding premature departure would suggest.⁴⁸

Alongside the body and the passion of Christ, late medieval devotional culture focused on the concept of purgatory. From being a transitional state between death and eternal bliss, by the fifteenth century it had transformed into a "third place" between this world and the next.⁴⁹ With the stress on the sinfulness of mankind in the face of Christ, the gulf between the human and the divine has increased.⁵⁰ Therefore, only those very few of saintly lives had no need to pay for their venial sins in purgatory and could get straight into the presence of the Lord. But for the majority, the purgatory was a place of transitional suffering. All who died in a state of venial sin, or who forgot to confess something, or who had not obeyed the commandment of love, had to stand the pains of the "cleansing fire"; however, if their mortal sins had been forgiven in confession and had received the eucharist on their deathbed, they could also be confident of their eventual salvation.⁵¹ The underlying idea in this triple scheme - hell, heaven and purgatory - was, of course, the passion of Christ, which made the reconciliation of mankind with God, in other words, the redemption from original sin at all possible.

⁴⁵ Molnár, "Két régi ima," 26-28 (prayers for elevation). For the liturgy of elevation: Solymosi, *A veszprémi egyház*, 99-100: line 1432-1439 (amendment). Ch. Caspers, *The Western Church during the Late Middle Ages: Augenkommunion or popular Mysticism?*, Bread of Heaven. Customs and Practices surrounding Holy Communion. Essays in the History of Liturgy and Culture, ed. C. Caspers-G. Lukken-G. Rouwhorst (*Liturgia Condenda* 3), Kampen, The Netherlands 1995, 83-97; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 62-73; Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 72.

⁴⁶ E. Duffy, *Stripping off the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven 1992, 95-102.

⁴⁷ For others testifying to the daily attendance of mass see: Erdélyi, *The Register*, 78-79, 108, 130.

⁴⁸ Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 71-72; Solymosi, *A veszprémi egyház*, 72: line 716-720 (amendment).

⁴⁹ J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, Aldershot 1984, especially 133-176.

⁵⁰ Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, *passim*.

⁵¹ Duffy, *Stripping off the Altars*, 338-354 (The Pains of Purgatory); P. de Temeswar, *Pomerium de Sanctis, Pars Hyemalis*, 8: discussing the Last Judgement says that those of saintly life reach heaven at once, and only those end up in hell like Herod, Pontius Pilate and Judas and the like, meanwhile the rest of the souls suffer in Purgatory.

Humans could partake in the infinite treasure of merits gained by Christ on the Cross by their good works.⁵² The most effective proponents of the religious culture organised around penance and good works, the pains of purgatory, the passion of Christ and the eucharist were the mendicant orders. Friars appeared in the early thirteenth century, the same time when the duty of annual confession was decreed to all Christians, and new teachings on purgatory and good works were formulated. As confessors and preachers primarily in urban settings, as well as instructors of the parish clergy as authors of pastoral manuals, they must have played a great role in spreading new teachings. As they were dependent on almsgiving, they must have been not only capable, due to their higher educational standards, but also interested in emphasizing the value of good works.

The three basic forms of satisfaction for temporal sins as well as of meritorious works (as also proclaimed by Franciscan preachers in Hungary), were - in order of their benefit - almsgiving, prayer or attending mass, and fasting or more generally abstinence.⁵³ As the opportunity for making satisfaction for temporal sins ended with death, to fasten the progress of the soul in purgatory was incumbent on family, relatives and friends, who could pray and have masses said for the souls of the departed, and in return the justified could intercede for the worldly happiness of the living. Although the Church emphasized the significance of personal life, good works and repentance in the economy of salvation as opposed to intercession,⁵⁴ the notion of purgatory and good works reinforced the institution of intercession.

The meritorious effect of good works functioned both ways: the poor who received alms, the dead helped by the masses, or the clergymen heaped with donations had to pay back their debts by further prayers for their benefactors.⁵⁵ The principle of reciprocity and intercession also prevailed in a broader sphere: Christians who founded a chapel or a chantry did not only have a share in the meritorious effects of the masses said by the altar priest, but also of the prayers of the congregation. By a new foundation the means of grace for the whole congregation increased significantly: they had gained a stipendiary priest, to whom they themselves could also give further commissions, and by attending his masses

⁵² Schütz, *Dogmatika. A keresztény hitigazságok rendszere* [Dogmatics. The System of Christian Thruths of Belief] 2 vols, Budapest 1937, 2: 572-577 (indulgence) and 698-705 (Purgatory); R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515*, Cambridge 1995, 37.

⁵³ P. de Temeswar, *Pom. Quad.*, I, 48, *sermo de partibus satisfactionis et de pervalore earum ac dispensatione*, P. See moreover Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 18-19.

⁵⁴ P. de Temeswar, *Pomerium de Sanctis, Pars Hyemalis*, 3, L: "all Christians will be finally judged according to good works of piety"; *Pom. Quad.*, I, 5, U: "God has more mercy on a true penitent than for the intercession of all saints. If someone in the state of mortal sin refuses to confess his sins, God will not forgive him, even if asked by the Virgin Marx and all saints."

⁵⁵ P. de Temeswar, *Pom. Quad.*, I, 48, *sermo de partibus satisfactionis et de pervalore earum ac dispensatione*, U: "alms have the merit of prayer and fasting [...], deserves more grace, since the one, who receives it, is obliged to pray for the benefactor."

they could promote their earthly and heavenly welfare alike.⁵⁶ A married couple, citizens of Nagybánya, "attempting to avoid the final hazard to their souls, the end of their lives, by means of good works", in their testament dated 1475 made the following provision: the chaplain they have employed should hold a mass every Thursday in honour of the Body of Christ, and in such a way that "the miraculous sacrament [...] be graciously presented to the gaze of the parishioners", and "the miraculous body of Christ' be carried round in a procession to be held once a month preceding the mass."⁵⁷ The chantry's beneficiaries were the altarist and the magistrates of the city, Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), which suggests that it was a contribution to the funds and ceremonies of the Corpus Christi confraternity active in the city. Most of the confraternities organized by townsmen in late medieval Hungary dedicated themselves to the cult of the body of Christ:⁵⁸ Besides their regular Thursday masses and processions, they played an important role in augmenting the glamour – and the intercessory powers – of the Easter liturgies and of Corpus Christi Day of the whole parish.⁵⁹

The friars' spiritual offer

Besides the merits deserved by almsgiving to the Augustinians, the daily ceremonies in the convent which supplemented the official high masses of the parish church would have constituted an enormous advantage. The presence of the friars provided a better opportunity for festive masses with singing and more numerous assistance, which was considered by the laity to be more efficacious. Moreover, with the friary, the clerical capacity needed for votive masses and anniversaries paid by parishioners increased significantly. This was important, since officially it was prescribed that a priest could perform only one mass a day.⁶⁰ The votive masses at the side-altars or those celebrated every weekday morning in the convent, in comparison with the Sunday meetings held in the parish church, constituted a special experience in yet another regard: whilst the latter were community observances, the former with their simple ceremony and few participant could perhaps more easily become occasions for an encounter between the individual and God.⁶¹

Parishioners particularly depended on mendicant friars for an increase in the secular grandeur and other-worldly effectiveness of the liturgy in memory of the

⁵⁶ On C. Burgess, *The Parish, the Church and the Laity in Late Medieval Bristol*, The Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, Local History Pamphlets 80, Bristol 1992, 4–6.

⁵⁷ Békefi, *A népoktatás története*, no. 141.

⁵⁸ For a list of Corpus Christi confraternities see: Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 23–27.; A. Kubinyi, "Vallásos társulatok a késő középkori magyarországi városokban," [Religious confraternities in late medieval Hungarian cities], in A. Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*, METEM Könyvek 22, Budapest 1999, 346, 350.

⁵⁹ Majorossy, "Corpus Christi," 268–272.

⁶⁰ Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 75–93; N. Szijártó, "Egy középkori misekönyvünk," [A medieval Hungarian Missal] *Theologia* 3 (1936), 162–169, 167; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 50.

⁶¹ For a similar interpretation see Duffy, *Stripping off the Altars*, 109–116, 125–127.

dead and other post mortal ceremonies. Paradoxically, it was for this particular reason that the friary in Körmend stood empty from time to time: according to András of Csut, for instance, they would be left without a mass in the town, when "the friars were invited to other churches to pay final respects to the departed by celebrating the funeral ceremonies." Father Lőrinc of Körmend also related that the "friars or a friar would be invited to the villages together with secular priests to bury the dead, or to hold a memorial," and the altarist must have gone with them at such times.⁶² The cemetery by the convent indicates that many chose to be buried there. Miklós Borsos, a peasant from village Sál, explained to the judges that he went to the convent because he brought a small donation to the Körmend friars to have a mass said – perhaps to shorten the sufferings of some departed relative on the anniversary of his death.⁶³ It is comprehensible, therefore, that it was a cause for indignation when the Augustinians slept through the time for morning mass and got up at noon, as witnessed by the fellow students of Benedek Sibrik, or at times they did not celebrate mass for days on end. When Ferenc of Nádasd found neither friar nor mass in the convent, he was told by town-dwellers that he might even have waited for a week in vain.⁶⁴

A further duty of the friars was to pray for parishioners at their public holy hours, in contrast to the private offices performed by the parish clergy. The Augustinians friars – as witnesses argued – neglected these offices too. Their laxity, beside the recurring complaints of the people, is demonstrated by the case of friar Blasius, who drank away his breviary containing the daily order of prayers in the village tavern of Ják. The rare pledge, worth several florins, had to be redeemed from the innkeeper by the prior – as a petty noble from village Rádóc recalled the story.⁶⁵ The parishioners were worried about the negligence of the holy hours, since they wanted to participate in these, especially in the early morning and evening prayers. The castellan of Körmend said for example that "he often visited the convent to hear mass, but he never participated in the morning hour, but sometimes in their vespers."⁶⁶ The testimonies of witnesses altogether reflect that the parishioners often visited the convent. They spontaneously spoke about the buildings in detail: mentioned the belfry, the ambulatory, the organ-loft, kitchen, the inner court, the upper house next to the friars' rooms.

Their knowledge of convent space reflects beyond ritual activities informal uses of space. "He had met the friars very often in their convent for different reasons [...], sometimes to hear mass or canonical hours, other times to converse and

⁶² Erdélyi, *The Register*, 166–167 (András Csuti), 172 (Lőrinc Körmendi). P. Berta, "A túlélők teendői. A posztmortális szolgálatok rendje későközépkori városaink vallásos közösségeiben," [The obligations of survivors. The order of post mortal service in late medieval Hungarian urban congregations] *Századok* 132 (1998), 782.

⁶³ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 50.

⁶⁴ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 76 (Benedek Sibrik), 125 (Ferenc Nádasdy). Simon Rosos, citizen of Körmend also „knew for sure that in different periods though, but the friars did not celebrate mass for many days in the convent church." Erdélyi, *The Register*, 152.

⁶⁵ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 96.

⁶⁶ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 108.

eat together with the friars" – as an old and well-to-do citizen, Simon Rosos remembered.⁶⁷ His convivial relationship with the friars derived from his status of *confrater*. In other words, he was a member of the confraternity of the Augustinians. Another citizen, Pál Nagy also declared at the interrogation that "since he was their *confrater*, he often visited them in their convent [...] in order to hear mass and to manage their affairs."⁶⁸ The admission of a layperson into a mendicant confraternity brotherhood usually meant a peak of a longstanding relationship, manifested in pious donations or patronage of a house or order. Lay-brethren, then, shared in the merits of the friars' liturgical acts, and had the right to be buried in the convent. This is another example of lay religious activity in spheres earlier limited to the clergy, which was practiced – beyond the aristocracy – by urban and market town elites.⁶⁹

The presence of the Augustinians provided the parishioners with the opportunity to choose whether to go to their parish priest for confession,⁷⁰ or to one of the friars. Several of the interrogated witnesses took advantage of the latter choice. Lukács Mindszenti of Hollós, earlier castellan of Körmend, related that "he would keep company with the Augustinian friars from time to time, sometimes dropping in to talk to them, at other times to make a confession." Miklós Pondor from the nearby village of Nádálja also recalled that "sometimes he attended mass in the convent, in other words, when there was mass, and sometimes he went to make his confession there too."⁷¹ I would suggest that they were both talking about occasions above the obligatory, annual confession. Their confession seems not to have been reckoned any more extraordinary than going to mass, or popping into the convent in the afternoon for a little chat. The complaint was heard several times at the hearing, that friar Anthonius would hear confessions even though he was not yet ordained.⁷² This reinforces the assumption that the parish clergy could not satisfy the penitential needs of the laity. Their voluntary confessions on weekdays under quiet and peaceful conditions, cannot be compared with the prescribed confession as a condition of participation in the collective Sunday communion in the scramble of Holy Week, performed in the sight of all. In this respect, the mendicant convent in the town carried the poten-

⁶⁷ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 153.

⁶⁸ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 157.

⁶⁹ For more examples see: F. Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The History of the Order of St Francis in Hungary until 1711] 2 vols, Budapest 1922–1924, 345, 351, 355, 357, 381, etc.; K. Szovák, "*Meritorum apud Dominum fructus cumulatorum*. Megjegyzések a 14. század főúri vallásosságához," [Notes on fourteenth century aristocratic religiosity] in R. Várkonyi Ágnes *Emlékkönyve*, ed. P. Tusor, Budapest 1998, 82.

⁷⁰ The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) prescribed confession to the parish priest, but added: "if someone has a good reason to confess his sins to someone else, he should first ask and receive permission from his own priest." *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 245.

⁷¹ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 108 (L. Mindszenti), 112 (M. Pondor).

⁷² Erdélyi, *The Register*, 120, 136, 159, 174, 189.

tial of individual and voluntary spheres of lay devotion and religious activity beside the official, communal and prescribed forms of parish piety.

The maintenance of preaching positions or the provision of occasional preachers, in order to supplement the Sunday and feast-day sermons of the parish priest, was a considerable financial burden for congregations. The Augustinian convent and friars in Körmend, provided a good potential for this service at a very low price.⁷³ The parishioners of Körmend, in quite an exceptional manner, chose an altar, or maybe even founded one for their confraternity in the Augustinian's church, rather than in the parish church. On the one hand, their choice may reflect the community's desire for an independent sphere of religious action from the parish priest. Autonomy and responsibility went hand in hand: the members of the confraternity collected money and restored the convent church themselves, instead of giving it to the negligent friars.⁷⁴

On the other hand, their choice was very practical: the citizens attempted to exploit the excess of priests offered by the convent. The employment of the friars for the masses and funeral ceremonies of the confraternity was probably a good deal cheaper and perceived as more efficacious.⁷⁵

Conclusion

While Mary and the saints were the celestial intercessors for men in the scheme of salvation, the ordained priesthood served as intercessors on earth. In the formulation of contemporary synodical books: "Priests are intercessors between God and Man, preaching to the people the commandments and turning to God with the supplications of the people."⁷⁶ In the later middle ages, the intercessory role of the clergy intensified in course of the eucharistic turn of devotional culture, since they were defined as the only legitimate administrators of the eucharist.⁷⁷ Therefore, the anger against the Augustinians in Körmend was primarily aimed at the intercessors who neglected their duties, because this way the friars disturbed the economy of the sacred, jeopardizing the spiritual and physical security of the community. What is more, they did this at a time when parishioners wanted to take part in the duties of the clergy in ever more varied forms (masses, canonical hours, confraternities) in order to make a share of their merits. The friars' conduct disappointed the people all the more as the mendicant convent should have rather provided them with serious advantages. The rivalry of a mendicant convent

⁷³ For urban preaching positions see Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 317–319. Reference to the preaching of the Augustinians in Körmend: Erdélyi, *The Register*, 110.

⁷⁴ The restoration work was mentioned by several witnesses, for example: Erdélyi, *The Register*, 157.

⁷⁵ The confraternity in Körmend was unknown before. Cf. Kubinyi, "Vallásos társulatok," 346.

⁷⁶ Solymosi, *A veszprémi egyház*, 63: line 477–480.

⁷⁷ This process is described as a strategy of clerical elites in order to maintain authority over the access to the sacred by C. Zika, "Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the sacred in fifteenth-century Germany," *Past and Present* 118 (1988) 25–64.

with a parish church for their favors and investments could have created the opportunity of choice.

The increased role of the ordained clergy in the economy of the sacred ran opposite the growing autonomy of individuals and communities in spheres of religion. The profound pastoral and jurisdictional changes within the Church in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries came fully to fruition at the parish level – with the mediation of mendicant friars – in the generations immediately before the protestant reformation. The religious and moral rhetoric of the agents of reform in Körmend functioned well, since religion was not any more the responsibility of the clergy, but of all. People readily invested – financial offers counted as acts of good work – in maintaining a stipendiary clergy and consumed on grand scale their religious rituals, but also brought to book for it. Liturgy had thus become a service of a fixed price.

The Augustinians words also reflect this kind of “consumer mentality”. The parish priest of Körmend, in accord with other witnesses, remembered as follows: “He has often scolded the friars for neglecting their convent and for their scandalous way of life, but they answered that they were not adequate in themselves to amend these things because they were getting so little alms as would not sustain enough of them to live there to be able to administer all offices and canonical hours.”⁷⁸ Lay and clerical interests and interpretations strengthened one another. The clergy was less eager to serve without substantial dotations, the laity paid only for good services. In Körmend, the townsmen hoped that the Observant friars would serve them with better and cheaper services.

⁷⁸ Erdélyi, *The Register*, 160.

Das spätmittelalterliche Europa und die Osmanen

JÜRGEN SARNOWSKY



In den Diskussionen um den EU-Beitritt der Türkei sind von Gegnern wie Befürwortern, mal vorsichtig positiv, mal abwertend-ironisch, die christlichen Grundlagen Europas ins Spiel gebracht worden. Für die einen ist Europa – bei aller Säkularisierung seit der Aufklärung – eine immer noch durch christliche Werte und Traditionen geprägte Gemeinschaft, während die Türkei trotz der seit Kemal „Atatürk“ verfolgten Orientierung an westlichen Vorbildern einer fremden kulturellen Sphäre zugeordnet wird. Für die anderen sind dagegen die christlichen Wurzeln Europas Vergangenheit und werden nur vorgeschoben, während längst Säkularität und Multikulturalität das Bild der Gesellschaft bestimmen. Tatsächlich lassen sich die dabei vorgebrachten Argumente nur vor dem Hintergrund der gemeinsamen, vor allem durch Mittelalter und Neuzeit geprägten und viele Jahrhunderte umspannenden Geschichte verstehen. Dabei kommt dem späteren Mittelalter eine besondere Bedeutung zu. In dieser Zeit liegen nicht nur die Ursprünge der europäischen Nationalstaaten, sondern auch – mit der Herrschaftsbildung der Osmanen in Kleinasien – die Anfänge der modernen Türkei.¹

Wenn die europäischen Reiche gerade im 15. Jahrhundert trotz vieler Konflikte und Gegensätze näher zusammenrückten, lag das nicht zuletzt an der als Bedrohung empfundenen Expansion des Osmanischen Reichs. Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass sich dabei erste Ideen dafür entwickelten, wie ein vereinigtes Europa aussehen könnte. Dieser Beitrag will die angesprochenen Prozesse verfolgen, nicht nur die politischen und militärischen Ereignisse, sondern auch die Entwicklung der europäischen Wahrnehmung der Osmanen und die daraus abgeleiteten Vorstellungen und weiterführenden Ideen.² Allerdings kann dies angesichts der

¹ Überblick bei J. Matuz, *Das Osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte*, 3. Auf., Darmstadt 1996; I. Mehtin Kunt, „The Rise of the Ottomans, in M. Jones,“ Hg. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 6, c.1300–c.1415, Cambridge 2000, S. 839–63; E. Zachariadou, „The Ottoman World,“ in Ch. Allmand, Hg., *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 7, c.1415–c.1500, Cambridge 1998, S. 812–30 (jeweils mit weiterer Literatur).

² Grundlegend zum Problem: R. Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent. The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)*, Nieuwkoop 1967; D. Mertens, „Europäischer Frieden und

Weite des Themas nur für ausgewählte Aspekte erfolgen. Nach einem Überblick über die islamische und osmanische Expansion während des Mittelalters sollen die Kreuzzugsunternehmen des späteren Mittelalters und die Wahrnehmung der Türken in der europäischen Chronistik behandelt sowie einige Ansätze für einen europäischen Frieden vorgestellt werden, der der Abwehr der osmanischen Bedrohung dienen sollte.

„Europa“ war im Mittelalter im Wesentlichen eine geographische Bezeichnung, die vor allem auf den Weltkarten der Zeit erscheint. Einfache geographische Darstellungen wie die „T-O-Karten“, bei denen Mittelmeer, Schwarzes Meer und Totes Meer die Kontinente teilen, nennen Europa gemeinsam mit Afrika und Asien und weisen den Kontinenten ein festes Verhältnis zu (1:1:2).³ Dieser geographische Begriff fand auch in die humanistische Literatur der Zeit Eingang, so in die geographisch-historische Schrift *In Europam* des Aeneas Silvius de Piccolomini (als Papst Pius II.), die sich allerdings wesentlich auf das Wirken Friedrichs III. beschränkt und unvollendet blieb.⁴

Daneben gab es jedoch einen anderen Begriff, der in den mittelalterlichen Quellen gebraucht wird und faktisch – durch die geographischen, politischen und religiösen Gegebenheiten – den modernen Europa-Vorstellungen nahe kommt, der der (lateinischen) Christenheit, der *Christianitas* oder *Repubblica christiana*. Oskar Halecki hat einmal zu Recht betont, „daß im ganzen Verlauf der im eigentlichen Sinne europäischen Geschichte Europa praktisch mit Christenheit identisch war; seit den entscheidenden Jahren um 1000 waren fast alle europäischen Völker, und nur diese Völker, im gleichen christlichen Glauben vereint“.⁵

Türkenkrieg im Spätmittelalter,“ in H. Duchhardt, Hg. *Zwischenstaatliche Friedenswahrung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Köln-Wien 1991, S. 45–90; F.-R. Erkens, Hg. *Europa und die osmanische Expansion im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 20), Berlin 1997; B. Guthmüller-W. Kühlmann, Hgg. *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, Tübingen 2000; A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. „Türkengefahr“ und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600*. Campus Historische Studien, 35, Frankfurt-New York 2003.

³ Zur „Entstehung“ Europas im Mittelalter vgl. allgemein J. Le Goff, *L'Europe est-elle née au moyen âge?* Paris 2003; M. Mitterauer, *Warum Europa? Mittelalterliche Grundlagen eines Sonderwegs*, München 2003; S. T. Christensen, „Eurocentrism in the fifteenth century,“ in Brian Patrick McGuire, Hg., *The Birth of Identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages*, Kopenhagen 1996, S. 275–300. – Die Aufteilung der bewohnten Welt auf die drei Kontinente ging auch in Chroniken ein, vgl. *Anonimo romano Cronica*, Hg. Guisepppe Porta, Piccola Biblioteca Adelphi 125, Mailand 1981, S. 73–74 (zur Beschreibung der Lage der Türkei).

⁴ Erstdruck, bearb. Michael de Tristan: *In Europam scil. de his quae sub Caesare Frid. III per Germaniam gesta sunt, cum locorum descriptione*, Memmingen, Alb. Kunne de Duderstadt 1490; moderne Ausgabe: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: Europa*, Hg. G. Frank, übers. A. Hartmann, Heidelberg 2005; vgl. B. Baldi, „Enea Silvio Piccolomini e il *De Europa*: umanesimo, religione e politica,“ *Archivio storico italiano* 161 (2003), S. 619–83. – Zu Aeneas' Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Europabegriffs: Mertens, *Friede*, S. 49–55.

⁵ O. Halecki, *Europa. Grenzen und Gliederung in seiner Geschichte*. (1950, aus d. Engl. G. u. E. Bayer), Darmstadt 1957, S. 38.

Dieses christliche und lateinische Europa – denn die orthodoxen Christen blieben als Schismatiker lange Zeit aus dieser Gemeinschaft ausgeschlossen – verfügte über eine Reihe gemeinsamer Institutionen und Traditionen: vom Netz der Pfarreien und Bistümer über gemeinsame Rechtsvorstellungen und -grundlagen etwa im „Genossenschaftsrecht“ bis hin zu gemeinsamen Formen und Inhalten des Bildungswesens wie nicht zuletzt an den Universitäten. Es zeichnete sich also in vielfacher Hinsicht durch innere Einheit aus. Noch bevor sich im späteren Mittelalter eine „internationale“ Diplomatie entwickelte,⁶ trugen die „Universalgewalten“, vor allem die Päpste, und vielfältige dynastische Verbindungen zur Ausbildung eines Geflechts weit reichender politischer Beziehungen bei. Dazu kam im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter die klare Abgrenzung nach außen, vor allem durch die Gegnerschaft zu den islamischen Reichen.

Die Geschichte der muslimischen Bedrohung Europas beginnt bereits im früheren Mittelalter.⁷ Während das Byzantinische Reich die Christenheit im Osten lange erfolgreich verteidigen konnte, stießen muslimische Kontingente bis weit in den Westen vor. Nach dem Fall der nordafrikanischen Reiche kam es 711, wohl bei Arcos de la Frontera bei Cádiz, zur Niederlage des westgotischen Königs Roderich gegen ein muslimisches Kontingent und in der Folge zur weit gehenden Eroberung der iberischen Halbinsel.⁸ Auch wenn das Ereignis in späterer Perspektive oft überschätzt wird, weil es in den Kontext der Herrschaftssicherung der Karolinger im Südwesten Galliens gehört, kam es danach schon 732 zum militärischen Zusammenstoß des fränkischen Hausmeiers Karl Martell mit muslimischen Truppen.⁹ Nach der Besetzung Narbonnes 719 und weiteren Vorstößen nach Aquitanien und Burgund führte der arabische Statthalter Abdarrahmān im Frühjahr 732 eine Strafexpedition nach Aquitanien, zerstörte Poitiers, wurde aber vor Tours von Karl Martell geschlagen. Karl gelang es im Folgenden, die Araber aus dem Süden Galliens zu vertreiben, mit der Ausnahme Septimaniens. Doch kam es weiterhin zu Kämpfen und Eroberungen, nicht nur auf der iberischen Halbinsel. Sardinien sah sich zwischen 703 und 1014/15 regelmäßigen muslimischen Angriffen ausgesetzt, was zu einer Isolation der unter byzantinischer Herr-

⁶ Zur hier nicht berücksichtigten Rolle der Diplomatie für das „Türkenbild“ s. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, S. 119–78.

⁷ Ein Phänomen, das in den modernen Diskussionen über die Kreuzzüge und die Kreuzfahrer – wie in vielen Versuchen der Aktualisierung – leicht übersehen wird.

⁸ L. Vones, *Geschichte der iberischen Halbinsel im Mittelalter, 711–1480. Reiche, Kronen, Regionen*, Sigmaringen 1993, S. 23–26; R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain. Unity in Diversity, 100–1000*, London 1983, S. 146–54.

⁹ U. Nonn, „Die Schlacht bei Poitiers,“ in Rudolf Schieffer, Hg., *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Regnum Francorum*, Referate beim Wissenschaftlichen Colloquium zum 75. Geburtstag von Eugen Ewig am 28. Mai 1988, Sigmaringen 1990, S. 37–56; J.-F. Gilmont, « La bataille de Poitiers comme symbole de la 'rencontre' de l'Occident et de l'Islam, » in L. van Ypersele, Hg., *Imaginaires de guerre: L'histoire entre mythe et réalité. Actes du colloque, Louvain-la-Neuve, 3–5 mai 2001* (Transversalités, 3), Louvain-la-Neuve 2003, S. 45–51.

schaft stehenden Insel führte.¹⁰ Sizilien wurde zwischen 827 und 843/902 erobert und blieb – trotz großer regionaler Verschiedenheit – bis zur normannischen Eroberung zwischen 1072 und 1091 zweieinhalb Jahrhunderte unter muslimischer Herrschaft.¹¹ Das übrige Italien sah sich, geschwächt durch innere Zerrissenheit, immer neuen Angriffen gegenüber, 838 gegen Tarent und Brindisi, 840 gegen Bari – das bis 871 in muslimischer Hand blieb –, 846 gegen Rom, wo die Grabeskirchen der Apostel Petrus und Paulus geplündert wurden, und weiter bis zum 11. Jahrhundert, oft gefördert durch regionale Bündnisse mit muslimischen Machthabern.¹² Arabische Krieger setzten sich selbst an der südfranzösischen Küste fest, auf der Burg Fraxinetum nahe Cannes, die sie zwischen 888/89 und 975 hielten und zu Überfällen auf den gesamten westlichen Alpenraum nutzten.¹³ Es war diese Atmosphäre äußerer Bedrohung (und innerer Zerrissenheit), in der sich im Christentum die Anfänge des Kreuzzugsgedankens entwickelten.¹⁴

Die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Christen und muslimischen Türken reichen ebenfalls weit zurück. Dabei markiert bereits die Schlacht von Mantzikert 1071 einen Wendepunkt, da in ihrer Folge große Teile Kleinasien an das Sultanat der Seldschuken fielen und so die Grundlagen der byzantinischen Herrschaft zerstört wurden.¹⁵ Im Zuge des Ersten Kreuzzugs kam es dann zu ersten Kämpfen zwischen lateinischen Christen und Seldschuken, im Juni und Juli 1097 mit den christlichen Siegen bei Nikäa und Doryläum.¹⁶ Auf den folgenden Kreuzzügen setzten sich diese militärischen Auseinandersetzungen fort, da die Kreuzfahrer häufig bewusst den Landweg des erfolgreichen Ersten Kreuzzugs wählten, wobei sie allerdings den seldschukischen Gegnern zumeist unterlagen. Der Vierte Kreuzzug, bei dem die Kreuzfahrer Konstantinopel und das Byzantinische Reich eroberten und zahlreiche lateinische Herrschaftsgebilde in der Ägäis begründeten,¹⁷ machte die Lateiner und türkische Fürstentümer auch

¹⁰ Für einen Überblick über Sardinien im Mittelalter s. L. Galoppini, „La Sardegna giudicale e catalano-aragonese,“ in M. Brigaglia, Hg., *Storia della Sardegna*, Cagliari 1998, S. 131–68.

¹¹ Vgl. insgesamt F. Maurici, *Breve storia degli arabi in Sicilia*. Siciliana, 7, Palermo 1995.

¹² S. W. Goetz, *Geschichte Italiens in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, WB-Forum 17, 3. Aufl. Darmstadt 1988, S. 55–60.

¹³ H.-R. Singer, „Fraxinetum,“ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 4, Stuttgart 2000, Sp. 882.

¹⁴ Schon „klassisch“ C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart 1935, (ND Darmstadt 1974); neuerer Forschungsstand u.a. bei N. Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge*. (Geschichte kompakt), Darmstadt 2003, S. 11–19; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A History*, 2. Aufl. London 2005, S. 4–10.

¹⁵ Vgl. u.a. E. de Vries-van der Velden, „Psellos, Romain IV Diogénés et Mantzikert,“ *Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines* 58 (1997), S. 274–310; J.-C. Cheynet, « Mantzikert, un désastre militaire? » *Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines* 50 (1980), S. 412–38.

¹⁶ Anstelle umfangreicher weiterer Literatur: Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge*, S. 40.

¹⁷ Summarisch Jaspert, S. *Die Kreuzzüge*; grundlegend D. E. Queller–Th. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2. Aufl. Philadelphia 1997; allgemein die Beiträge in K. M. Setton, Hg., *A History of the Crusades*, Bd. 3: *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century*, Hg. Harry W. Hazard, Madison, Wisc., 1975.

über den Verlust der letzten christlichen Territorien im Heiligen Land (1291) hinaus zu Nachbarn, die sich bei Überfällen feindlich gegenüber standen. So kam es am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts zu Kreuzzugsplänen und -unternehmen, die sich – zumindest im ersten Schritt – gegen die türkischen Emirate am Ägäischen Meer richteten. Im Oktober 1344 gelang so einer auf päpstlicher Initiative formierten christlichen Flotte gegen den Emir Umur von Aydin die Eroberung des Hafens von Smyrna (Izmir).¹⁸

Das osmanische Emirat war zunächst nur eines dieser turkmenischen Kleinfürstentümer, die im 13. Jahrhundert aus dem Zerfall des anatolischen Seldschuken-Sultanats entstanden. Der erste bedeutende Herrscher war der 1326 verstorbene Osman, der sich vom nomadischen Stammesführer zum Herrn eines eigenen Territoriums aufschwang. Als Ghasi, als Glaubenskrieger, nahm er an den ständigen Kleinkriegen des anatolischen Raums teil und zog dabei mehr und mehr auch die Türken benachbarter Gebiete an sich. So konnte er sein anfänglich nur sehr kleines Herrschaftsgebiet stetig ausweiten. Wohl schon zu seiner Zeit entstanden die Grundlagen des effektiven osmanischen Feudalsystems.¹⁹ Das eroberte bebaute Land wurde nicht als nomadische Viehweide genutzt, sondern den Bauern zur festen Bewirtschaftung zurückgegeben. Die osmanischen Krieger, vor allem die Militärführer, die Ghasis und die Verwandten der Herrscher, wurden je nach ihrem Rang und ihren Verdiensten mit mehr oder weniger großen Ländereien belehnt. Damit entstanden eine feudale Mittelschicht und ein permanentes Berufsheer zur Verteidigung der eroberten Gebiete, zugleich – zusammen mit der Militärverwaltung – erste Ansätze für eine zivile Bürokratie. Auf dieser Grundlage eroberte Osmans Sohn Orhan das byzantinische Brussa und ging daran, die benachbarten anatolischen Emirate zu erobern. 1353 nahm er den ersten Brückenkopf auf europäischem Boden ein, 1354 das benachbarte Gallipoli, das allerdings 1366 durch einen Kreuzzug unter Amadeus von Savoyen noch einmal verloren ging.²⁰ Als Orhan, der sich nunmehr Sultan nannte, 1360 starb, war sein Herrschaftsgebiet fast so groß wie das moderne Österreich, und Verwaltung und Militärwesen waren unter anderem nach byzantinischen Vorbildern weiter ausgebaut worden. Unter seinem Sohn Murad I. wurde die osmanische Expansion fortgesetzt, und aufgrund innerer Kämpfe im byzantinischen Reich gelang ihm 1361 die Eroberung Adrianopels – das er bald darauf zur Hauptstadt seines Rei-

¹⁸ Vgl. K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, Bd. 1, *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Philadelphia 1976, S. 163–94; weiter allgemein: E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade, Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)*, Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, 11, Venedig 1983; J. Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient*, Paris 1904; J. Sarnowsky, "Die Johanniter und Smyrna 1344–1402," *Römische Quartalsschrift* 86 (1991), S. 215–51, und 87 (1992), S. 47–98.

¹⁹ Matuz, *Das Osmanische Reich*, S. 31; R. Irwin, "Islam and the Crusades in J. Riley-Smith," Hg., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, Oxford 1995, S. 217–59, hier S. 250–51.

²⁰ Setton, *Papacy*, 1, S. 297–300.

ches machte –; und damit die Einschließung Konstantinopels.²¹ 1371 wurden die Serben bei Maritza besiegt; damit fiel Mazedonien in osmanische Hand. 1385 wurde Sofia erobert, und bald musste sich der bulgarische Zar der osmanischen Herrschaft unterwerfen. Die Schlacht auf dem Amselfeld, dem Kosovo, im Juni 1389 bildete – nach zwischenzeitigen serbischen Erfolgen – den erfolgreichen Abschluss der osmanischen Eroberungen auf dem Balkan.²² Bulgarien wurde 1393 endgültig unterworfen, die Walachei 1394 tributpflichtig gemacht.

Die osmanische Expansion schien unaufhaltsam. Nach innen suchten sich die Sultane durch maßvolle Politik gegen Rebellionen abzusichern, in dem sie noch im 15. Jahrhundert in vielen Gebieten die christlichen Adligen in ihren Positionen beließen, sofern sie sich loyal verhielten, und den Christen die Ausübung ihrer Religion erlaubten, wenn sie eine besondere Steuer entrichteten. Zugleich begann vor allem im östlichen Balkan eine massive türkische Einwanderung, so dass z.B. die erst 1391 eroberte Stadt Skopje 1455 bereits 22 muslimische, aber nur noch acht christliche Stadtbezirke hatte.²³ Als die Zahl der während der Feldzüge gefangenen christlichen Jugendlichen nicht mehr als personeller Nachschub für das Regiment der Janitscharen ausreichte, ging man 1438 zur *devşirme* („Knabenlese“) über, bei der christliche Jungen zwischen 8 und 15 Jahren ihren Eltern fortgenommen und als Kämpfer für den Islam trainiert wurden.²⁴ Der neue Sultan Bayezid II., der auf dem Amselfeld seinem Vater nachgefolgt war, konnte seine Stellung auf dem Balkan wie in Anatolien weiter ausbauen und belagerte mehrfach Konstantinopel. Jedoch führte ein Konflikt mit dem Mongolenherrscher Timur zu einem schweren Rückschlag. Timur fügte Bayezid und seinem zahlenmäßig unterlegenen Heer im Juli 1402 bei Ankara eine vernichtende Niederlage zu. Der Sultan geriet in Gefangenschaft, in der er im folgenden Jahr starb, und während Timur abzog, stritten Bayezids Söhne um die Macht.²⁵

Diese Schwächung der Osmanen brachte dem Byzantinischen Reich jedoch nur einen „Aufschub“ von 50 Jahren. Schon 1413 konnte Mehmed I. die Herrschaft wieder in einer Hand vereinen, auch wenn sein Reich kleiner geworden war. Nach der Stabilisierung seiner Stellung in Anatolien erhöhte er den Druck auf Konstantinopel, das seit 1424 an Murad II. wieder Kontributionen zahlen musste. Die Byzantiner setzten nunmehr auf den Westen, doch führte die im Juli 1439 auf dem Konzil von Florenz verkündete Kirchenunion nur zu inneren Konflikten – unter anderem zur endgültigen Lösung der russischen Kirche vom Pat-

²¹ N. Housley, *The later crusades, 1274–1580. From Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford 1992, S. 65; F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.–15. Jahrhundert)*, München 1944, S. 41–55.

²² Setton, *Papacy*, I, S. 329.

²³ Housley, *The later crusades*, S. 71.

²⁴ Irwin, „Islam and the Crusades,“ S. 251; Matuz, *Das Osmanische Reich*, S. 40–41, 56–57; vgl. auch die *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik*, übers. R. Lachmann, Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, VIII, Graz, Wien, Köln 1975.

²⁵ Zu den Folgen s. K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz. Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte zwischen 1402 und 1422*. Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 29, Weimar 1981, bes. S. 9.

riarchen von Konstantinopel –,²⁶ ohne dass die Lateiner wirksame Hilfe organisieren konnten. Der neue Sultan, Mehmed II., begann im April 1453 mit der Belagerung Konstantinopels, die erstmals in großen Zahlen eingesetzten Geschütze zerstörten die Mauern, und am 29. Mai fiel die Stadt unter dem Ansturm der osmanischen Elitetruppe, der Janitscharen.²⁷ Die anderen christlichen Besitzungen auf dem Balkan und in Griechenland fielen so ebenfalls bald in osmanische Hände: das Herzogtum Athen 1456, Serbien endgültig 1459, der griechische Besitz auf dem Peloponnes 1460, das am Schwarzen Meer gelegene griechische Kaiserreich Trapezunt 1461, Bosnien 1463, das venezianische Negroponte (Euböa) 1470. Länger halten konnten sich nur die Johanniter auf Rhodos, die erst 1522 von der Insel vertrieben wurden, sowie die Venezianer, zumindest in Teilen ihrer Besitzungen.²⁸ Das Osmanische Reich war damit unter Mehmed II. endgültig zur Großmacht aufgestiegen.

Europa, genauer der lateinische Westen, reagierte zunächst kaum, trotz der Bemühungen des byzantinischen Kaisers Johannes V. zwischen 1355 und 1375, Unterstützung im Westen zu finden.²⁹ Erst gegen Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts, angesichts der Bedrohung Ungarns, formierte sich ein europäisches Kreuzfahrerheer unter der Leitung des ungarischen (und späteren römischen) Königs Sigismund. 1395 riefen beide Päpste, Bonifaz IX. in Rom und Benedikt XIII. in Avignon, nacheinander zum Kreuzzug gegen die Türken auf, und im April 1396 brach ein Heer unter dem Sohn des Herzogs von Burgund, Johann von Nevers, und unter dem französischen Marschall Jean de Boucicaut nach Ungarn auf. Ende Juli vereinigten sich diese Kontingente in Buda mit dem ungarischen Heer unter Sigismund und zogen in die besetzten bulgarischen Gebiete. Nach der Einnahme zweier befestigter Plätze wandte sich das Heer im September 1396 gegen die wichtige Donau-Festung Nikopolis. Taktische Fehler, vor allem der burgundisch-französischen Kreuzfahrer, die gegen ungarischen Rat an der Spitze des Heeres kämpfen wollten, führten zu einer schweren christlichen Niederlage.³⁰ Während

²⁶ Zur Kirchenunion von 1439 vgl. u.a. Z. N. Tsirpanlis, "Il decreto fiorentino di unione e la sua applicazione nell'archipelago greco," *Thesaurismata* 21 (1991), S. 43–88.

²⁷ Allgemein St. Runciman, *Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel 1453*. (aus dem Engl. P. de Mendelsson), München 1977; P. B. de la Peña, "Inmaculada Pérez Martín," Hgg. *Constantinopla 1453. Mitos y realidades*, Nueva Roma, 19, Madrid 2003; K. DeVries, "Gunpowder weapons at the siege of Constantinople, 1453," in Yaacov Lev, Hg., *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 9, Leiden 1997, S. 343–62; zu den Gräueln bei der Eroberung, die, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird, in der Wahrnehmung des Westens noch gesteigert wurden, vgl. u.a. Mehmet II. erobert Konstantinopel. Die ersten Regierungsjahre des Sultans Mehmet Fatih, des Eroberers von Konstantinopel 1453. *Das Geschichtswerk des Kritobolos von Imbros*, übers. D. R. Reinsch, Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, XVII, Graz–Wien–Köln 1986, S. 120–21.

²⁸ Irwin, "Islam and the Crusades," S. 254–55; Housley, *The later crusades*, S. 105, 110–11.

²⁹ S. dazu O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*. Warszawa 1930, (ND London 1972).

³⁰ Zum Kreuzzug und zur Schlacht vgl. aus der neueren Literatur K. DeVries, "The Battle of Nicopolis," *Medieval History Magazine* 2, 2003, S. 22–27; L. Veszprémy, "Some remarks on recent historiography of the crusade of Nicopolis (1396)," in Zs. Hunyadi-J.

Sigismund fliehen konnte, gerieten Johann von Nevers und Jean de Boucicaut in Gefangenschaft. Als einziger Erfolg des Kreuzzugs war zu verbuchen, dass Bayezid zuvor die Belagerung Konstantinopels aufheben musste.

Die Niederlage der Osmanen bei Ankara (1402) und die folgenden inneren Probleme des Osmanenreichs verminderten die Bedrohung für die christlichen Territorien, so dass auch das Instrument der Kreuzzüge fast ein halbes Jahrhundert seine Bedeutung verlor.³¹ Erst die Erneuerung der osmanischen Expansion auf dem Balkan und die erfolgreichen ungarischen Abwehrbemühungen unter dem Woiwoden von Siebenbürgen, Johann Hunyadi, führten wieder eine gesamteuropäische Reaktion herbei. Papst Eugen IV. rief 1442 zum Kreuzzug gegen die Osmanen auf, und trotz inneritalienischer Konflikte, die die Entsendung einer Flotte verhinderten, kamen im Sommer 1443 25.000 Mann in Ungarn zusammen: Truppen Hunyadis, Kontingente aus anderen Balkanländern, tschechische und moldawische Söldner, aber auch italienische, französische und deutsche Kreuzfahrer. Unter der Leitung des neuen ungarischen und polnischen Königs Władysław III., Hunyadis sowie des päpstlichen Legaten Giulio Cesarini setzten die Truppen über die Donau über, besetzten Sofia und zogen nach Thrakien, wurden dann aber durch den einbrechenden Winter zum Rückzug gezwungen. Nach einem weiteren Sieg über osmanische Truppen erreichte das Heer im Januar 1444 Belgrad. Angesichts weiterer christlicher Bedrohungen fand sich Murad II. zu Verhandlungen bereit und schloss im Juli 1444 zu Szeged mit Wladislaw Frieden.³² Dieser Friedensschluss wurde jedoch von der Kurie als unzureichend empfunden, da Kardinal Cesarini nach den Erfolgen des Vorjahres davon ausging, die Osmanen vertreiben zu können. Optimistisch waren auch die Venezianer, deren Senat im Mai 1444 eine einmalige Gelegenheit für einen Feldzug sah.³³ Als König Wladislaw vor diesem Hintergrund im September 1444 erneut zum Kreuzzug gegen die Osmanen aufbrach, setzte er darauf, dass das in Anatolien kämpfende osmanische Heer durch eine päpstlich-venezianisch-burgundische Flotte an der Überquerung der Meerengen gehindert werden würde. Diese Hoffnung zerschlug sich jedoch, vielmehr konnte Murad II. das Kreuzheer im November 1444 bei Varna stellen und ihm so schwere Verluste zufügen – unter anderem fanden dabei Kardinal Cesarini und König Władysław den Tod –, dass sich

Laszlovszky, Hg., *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, CEU Medievalia 2, Budapest 2001, S. 223–30; A. Ilieva, "Reassessing the crusade of Nikopolis (1396): a view from within," *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 10 (1998), S. 13–31; M. Kintzinger, "Sigismond, roi de Hongrie et la croisade," *Annales de Bourgogne* 68 (1996), S. 23–33 (im selben Heft weitere Beiträge).

³¹ In diese Zeit fallen allerdings die Kreuzzüge gegen die Hussiten, vgl. F. G. Heymann, "The crusades against the Hussites," in Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Bd. 3, S. 586–646.

³² Zum Frieden s. S. Papp, "Der ungarisch-türkische Friedensvertrag im Jahre 1444," *Chronica* 1 (2001), S. 67–78.

³³ Housley, *The later crusades*, S. 87; Ş. Papacostea, "Gênes, Venise et la croisade de Varna," *Balkanica Posnaniensia: Acta et studia* 8 (1997), S. 27–37 (mit weiteren Beiträgen zu Varna).

das christliche Heer auflöste.³⁴ So erwies sich die Einschätzung der christlichen Seite als falsch, auch wenn sich die Gegner der Osmanen auf dem Balkan damit vorerst nicht abfinden wollten.

Nach den schweren Niederlagen der Christen 1396 bei Nikopolis und 1444 bei Varna sowie nach dem Fall Konstantinopels 1453 gab es 1456 einen Teilerfolg, der zumindest zeitweilig eine Wende zugunsten der Christen erbrachte. Treibende Kraft war der neue Papst, der 77jährige Katalane Kalixt III.³⁵ Im September 1455 sandte er einen Legaten nach Ungarn, Johannes von Carjaval, der zunächst die Voraussetzungen für einen Kreuzzug schuf und Anfang 1456 den Franziskaner Johannes von Capistrano zum Kreuzzugsprediger berief.³⁶ Dieser hatte einen immensen Erfolg: Innerhalb weniger Monate fanden sich viele Tausend Kreuzfahrer ein, Ungarn, Deutsche, Polen und Bosnier, um Belgrad zu Hilfe zu kommen, das seit Anfang Juli von Mehmed II. belagert wurde. Der ungarische Reichsverweser Johann Hunyadi zögerte, mit diesen schlecht ausgerüsteten und zusammen gewürfelten Verbänden und den wenigen ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Truppen gegen das gut organisierte Heer der Osmanen vorzugehen, wurde aber von dem energischen, bereits siebzehnjährigen Franziskaner für die Verteidigung Belgrads gewonnen. Tatsächlich gelang es, den Belagerungsring um die Stadt zu sprengen und in einem Ausfall sich sogar der osmanischen Artillerie zu bemächtigen, als der Sultan bereits den Abzug vorbereitete. Damit war aber nicht nur Belgrad gerettet, denn Mehmed plante bereits den weiteren Vorstoß auf die ungarische Hauptstadt Buda.³⁷ Dies war der größte Erfolg eines Kreuzheers im 15. Jahrhundert, und die Kreuzfahrer sicherten damit für weitere 70 Jahre die Selbstständigkeit Ungarns.

Weitere Operationen im östlichen Mittelmeer und in der Ägäis 1456/57 unter Kardinal Ludovico Trevisan blieben allerdings ohne größeren Erfolg. Zwar wurden die Inseln Lemnos, Samothrake und Thasos in der Ägäis erobert und die Küstenregionen im östlichen Mittelmeer verunsichert, doch musste sich die Flotte Ende 1457 zurückziehen, ohne dass die Osmanen ernsthaft in ihren Positionen gefährdet worden wären.³⁸ Neuen Auftrieb erhielten die Planungen erst wieder durch Papst Pius II., der auf dem Kongress zu Mantua 1459 einen neuen, aber schon angesichts mangelnder Beteiligung letztlich vergeblichen Versuch unter-

³⁴ Allgemein vgl. M. Chasin, "The crusade of Varna," in K. M. Setton, Hg., *A History of the Crusades*, Bd. 6: *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, Hg. H. W. Hazard-N. Zacour, Madison, Wisc., 1989, S. 276–310; Housley, *The later crusades*, S. 86–88.

³⁵ Zu ihm vgl. M. Batllori I Munne, "Calixtus III. (Alfons de Borja), Papst," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 2, Sp. 1398–99; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, Bd. 2: *The Fifteenth Century*, Philadelphia 1978, S. 161–95.

³⁶ Zu seiner Korrespondenz in Ungarn s. Gedeon Gál, Jason M. Miskuly, "A provisional calendar of St. John Capistran's correspondence. Part III," *Franciscan Studies* 52 (1992), erschienen 1996, S. 283–327.

³⁷ Housley, *The later crusades*, S. 103–104.

³⁸ Setton, *Papacy*, Bd. 2, S. 189–90.

nahm, die europäischen Mächte für einen Krieg gegen die Osmanen zu einen.³⁹ Er konnte trotz aller Widerstände 1463/64 ein Kreuzheer mobilisieren, starb allerdings schließlich im Angesicht der versammelten Truppen in Ancona 1464, so dass damit auch der geplante Kreuzzug unter seiner Leitung nicht zustande kam.⁴⁰ Auch wenn immer wieder neue Kreuzzüge in Angriff genommen wurden, hatte die Unterstützung für die Unternehmen einen Tiefpunkt erreicht.

Eine gewisse Ausnahme bildeten die Unternehmen der Johanniter auf Rhodos, die sich selbst als Vorkämpfer der Christenheit verstanden, im kontinuierlichen Krieg gegen die „grausamsten Feinde des christlichen Glaubens, die Türken“, wie es schon in einem Schreiben von Meister und Konvent an den skandinavischen Prior des Ordens vom August 1347 heißt. Selbst Ämterverleihungen im Westen beriefen sich auf die „Verteidigung des christlichen Glaubens und Volkes gegen die Türken“ durch die Brüder des Ordens.⁴¹ Insbesondere nach dem Fall Konstantinopels wurden Rhodos und seine Nachbarinseln neben Zypern zum wichtigsten christlichen Außenposten im östlichen Mittelmeer. Als es den Johannitern 1480 gelang, einen Eroberungsversuch der Osmanen abzuwehren, fanden sie gesamteuropäische Aufmerksamkeit. Der Meister des Ordens, Pierre d'Aubusson, berichtete noch im September 1480 dem Kaiser, Friedrich III., von der Belagerung und der göttlichen Hilfe bei der Abwehr der Feinde,⁴² und der Vizekanzler des Ordens, Guillaume Caoursin, verfasste einen Bericht über die Belagerung, der mehrfach gedruckt und übersetzt wurde.⁴³ Als der Orden ein Banner mit Christus, der Jungfrau Maria und dem Ordenspatron, Johannes dem Täufer aufziehen ließ, sollen – so die Quellen – die türkischen Gegner ein goldenes Kreuz im Himmel wahrgenommen haben, dazu Maria und Johannes und himmlische Heerscharen. Der Erfolg der Johanniter wurde schließlich durch den Tod Mehmeds II. 1481 und die anschließenden Streitigkeiten unter seinen Nachfolgern abgesichert. Im Juli 1482 floh der jüngere Erbe, Djem, vor seinem Bruder Bayezid II. nach Rhodos, und der Sultan musste sich im Dezember 1482 zu einem

³⁹ Vgl. die Beiträge in: A. Calzona et al. Hg., *Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Mantova, 13–15 Aprile 2000*, Centro Studi L. B. Alberti, Ingenium 5, Florenz 2003; Z. von Martels–A. Vanderjagt, Hg., *Pius II – 'El Più Expeditivo Pontifice'*. Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), Leiden 2003; zu Pius' Politik gegenüber den Osmanen ausführlich Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent*, S. 57–77.

⁴⁰ Vgl. allgemein N. Bisaha, „Pope Pius II and the crusade,“ in N. Housley, Hg., *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, Basingstoke 2004, S. 39–52, 188–91; Setton, *Papacy*, Bd. 2, S. 231–70; J. Helmuth, „Pius II. und die Türken,“ in *Europa und die Türken*, S. 79–137, hier S. 127–37.

⁴¹ J. Sarnowsky, „Der Johanniterorden und die Kreuzzüge,“ in F.-J. Felten–N. Jaspert, Hg., *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, Berliner Historische Studien 31; Ordensstudien XIII, Berlin 1999, S. 345–367, hier S. 351; die zuerst angesprochene Quelle in italienischer Übersetzung in: S. Paoli, Hg., *Codice diplomatico dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano*, Bd. 2, Lucca 1737, S. 90–91.

⁴² Paoli, *Codice diplomatico*, Bd. 2, S. 149–52.

⁴³ Auch in Guillaume Caoursin, *Opera*, Ulm (Johann Reger) 1496; zum Folgenden vgl. Setton, *Papacy*, Bd. 2, S. 359.

Friedensabkommen bereit finden und dem Orden jährlich 35.000 Dukaten für den Unterhalt des Bruders zusichern. Der unglückliche Djem, der fortan – zur Sicherheit im Westen – wie in einem „goldenen Käfig“ festgehalten und 1489 an den Papst übergeben wurde, blieb bis zu seinem Tod 1495 ein Faustpfand des Ordens, das eine letzte Friedensperiode garantierte.⁴⁴

Schon früh fanden Türken und Osmanen Eingang in die europäische Chronistik, zunächst im europäischen Süden und für die Kreuzzugsunternehmen des 14. Jahrhunderts. So berichtet die zeitgenössische Chronik eines namentlich nicht bekannten Römers ausführlich über die Eroberung Smyrnas im Herbst 1344, beschreibt die türkischen Gegner und hebt die Gefahren im Kampf gegen sie hervor.⁴⁵ Im Hanseraum fanden die Ereignisse auf dem Balkan spätestens seit den Feldzügen König Sigismunds von Ungarn und seit dem Kreuzzug von 1396 größere Aufmerksamkeit.⁴⁶ So meldet die Erste Fortsetzung der Detmar-Chronik aus Lübeck zu 1395 zunächst Erfolge Sigismunds, um dann von der Niederlage bei Nikopolis zu berichten. Es folgt ein aus der Reihe fallender Abschnitt, der erstmals die türkischen Gegner – allerdings nur mit einer Reihe von Vorurteilen und Stereotypen – charakterisiert.⁴⁷ Danach haben sie durch die Vielehe zahlreiche Nachkommen, sind leicht, aber gut bewaffnet, ernähren sich von rohem Fleisch von Wildtieren, sind arbeitsam, sind Beschwerneisse gewohnt und schnell zu Kampf und Krieg bereit.⁴⁸

Bleibt dieses Bild noch relativ neutral, entstand allmählich, nachdem auch die Niederlage des Kreuzzugs bei Varna 1444 wieder gesamteuropäische Aufmerksamkeit gefunden hatte,⁴⁹ das Schlagwort von der „Türkengefahr“. Seit der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde, zunehmend auf Flugblättern und in anderen gedruckten Werken, vor der Bedrohung durch die Osmanen gewarnt, indem man ihre militärischen Erfolge, ihr Herrschaftssystem, das Alltagsleben und die dip-

⁴⁴ Vgl. allgemein N. Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes, 1480–1522*, Collection Turcica, 7, Paris 1994, S. 161–239.

⁴⁵ *Anonimo romano Cronica*, S. 73–86.

⁴⁶ Dazu und zum Folgenden s. Thomas Vogtherr: „Wenn hinten, weit, in der Türkei ...“ Die Türken in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadtchronistik Niederdeutschlands, in *Europa und die osmanische Expansion*, S. 103–25, bes. S. 107–11.

⁴⁷ K. Koppmann, F. Bruns, Hg., *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte: Lübeck*. Chroniken der deutschen Städte 19, 26, 28, 30, 31, 5 Bde., Leipzig 1884–1911, hier Bd. 2, Nr. 1026, 1036–37, S. 79, 88–89; der Bericht über den Kreuzzug wird wiederholt in der sog. Rufus-Chronik, Bd. 3, Nr. 1092, S. 5–6. – Die Erste Fortsetzung berichtet auch über ein Unternehmen König Sigismunds, das 1399 dazu beigetragen haben soll, die Belagerung Konstantinopels zu beenden, Bd. 2, Nr. 1102, S. 115; gemeint sind vielleicht die Bemühungen des französischen Marschalls Boucicaut, den Byzantinern zu Hilfe zu kommen.

⁴⁸ Vogtherr, „Wenn hinten, weit, in der Türkei,“ S. 111, verweist hier zu Recht auf die Parallele zu den bis ins 19. Jahrhundert fortwirkenden Beschreibungen von „wildem Völkern“.

⁴⁹ Auch sie findet sich in der Lübecker Chronistik: *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, Bd. 4, Nr. 1677, S. 33.

lomatischen Beziehungen zu den europäischen Mächten beschrieb.⁵⁰ Dabei bildeten sich – mit unterschiedlicher Gewichtung – negative Stereotype aus, nach denen die Osmanen als grausam, verräterisch, hinterlistig, bösartig und den Christen besonders feindlich gesonnen galten.⁵¹ Moralische Vorwürfe betrafen Wollust und Sodomie (Homosexualität), aber auch Hochmut, Faulheit und Geiz, somit nahezu alle Hauptlaster der christlichen Theologie, auch wenn daneben durchaus positive, teilweise deutlich im Widerspruch zu den negativen Bewertungen stehende Eigenschaften genannt werden.

Der Fall Konstantinopels am 29. Mai 1453 trug erheblich zur Ausbildung dieser Vorstellungen bei, vor allem durch die Form, wie Augenzeugen, Chronisten und andere Zeitgenossen darüber berichteten.⁵² Der erste, noch recht sachliche Bericht war der eines Augenzeugen, des Florentiner Kaufmanns Giacomo Edaldi.⁵³ Er schildert die kampflose Übergabe Peras und die Belagerung Konstantinopels, bei der die Türken alle getötet hätten, die sich ihnen entgegenstellten, und er weiß vom Tod des letzten byzantinischen Kaisers, Konstantin XI. Palaiologos, kann aber über die näheren Umstände nur spekulieren. Schon kurz danach unterrichtete jedoch der venezianische Doge, Francesco Foscari, Papst Nikolaus V. über die Grausamkeiten, die die Türken bei der Eroberung Konstantinopel begangen hatten. Sowohl in Pera wie in Konstantinopel seien alle Christen über sechs Jahren getötet worden.⁵⁴ Auch am Hof Kaiser Friedrichs III. kursierten inzwischen die übelsten Nachrichten und Gerüchte. Der für die Verhandlungen über den Preußischen Bund in Graz anwesende Oberste Spittler des Deutschen Ordens, Heinrich Reuß von Plauen, setzte im Juli 1453 Hochmeister Ludwig von

⁵⁰ Dazu die Arbeit von Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, bes. S. 51–85; sie differenziert zwischen dem Diskurs der „Türkengefahr“, den *Nova* und den etwas sachlicheren Reiseberichten, dazu auch ebd. S. 119–22.

⁵¹ Vgl. die Liste ebd., S. 294–95; vgl. auch C. Sieber-Lehmann, „Der türkische Sultan Mehmed II. und Karl der Kühne, der ‚Türk im Occident‘“, in *Europa und die osmanische Expansion*, S. 13–38, bes. S. 16–20, der auf die älteren Wurzeln der Stereotypen hinweist.

⁵² M. Thumser, Türkenfrage und öffentliche Meinung. Zeitgenössische Zeugnisse nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel (1453), in *Europa und die osmanische Expansion*, S. 59–78; G. Signori, „Frauen, Kinder, Greise und Tyrannen. Geschlecht und Krieg in der Bilderwelt des späten Mittelalters“, in K. Schreiner, Gabriela Signori, Hg., *Bilder, Texte, Rituale. Wirklichkeitsbezug und Wirklichkeitskonstruktion politisch-rechtlicher Kommunikationsmedien in Stadt- und Adelsgesellschaften des späten Mittelalters*. (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 24), Berlin 2000, S. 139–64, bes. S. 150–56; U. Andermann, „Geschichtsdeutung und Prophetie. Krisenerfahrung und -bewältigung am Beispiel der osmanischen Expansion im Spätmittelalter und der Reformationszeit“, in *Europa und die Türken*, S. 29–54.

⁵³ Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent*, S. 57–62; Signori, „Frauen, Kinder“, S. 150–51; Text in E. Martène, U. Durand, Hg., *Thesaurus novum anecdotorum*, Bd. 1, Paris 1717, Sp. 1819–1823.

⁵⁴ Signori, „Frauen, Kinder“, S. 151; vgl. F. Thiriet, bearb., *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, Bd. 3: 1431–1463, Paris 1961, Nr. 2928, S. 187; verarbeitet auch in einem Bericht des Heinrich von Sommern, s. N. Jorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*, Bd. 3, Paris 1902, S. 307–15.

Erlichshausen in zwei Briefen über die angeblichen Ereignisse ins Bild. Danach seien der Kaiser und sein Sohn hingerichtet, 42.000 Menschen ermordet und insbesondere die Geistlichen unter Folterqualen getötet worden.⁵⁵ Bei ihm wie bei anderen verdichteten sich die Gerüchte zu Wahrheiten. Einen Höhepunkt bildete die Rede von Aeneas Silvius de Piccolomini vor dem Reichstag zu Regensburg im Mai 1454. Dabei berichtet der Humanist und Bischof von Siena über den Tod des byzantinischen Kaisers, er sei in Stücke gehauen und sein Kopf sei auf einer Lanze präsentiert worden. Aeneas bemüht zudem offenkundig antike Stereotype über den Fall von Städten, wenn er das Gemetzel in Konstantinopel nach der Einnahme der Stadt schildert, mit der brutalen Tötung von Adligen und Geistlichen, der Schändung von Nonnen und Müttern.⁵⁶

Die Auseinandersetzungen mit den Osmanen wurden so zu einem zentralen Gegenstand der spätmittelalterlichen Chronistik. Auch die Lübecker Ratschronik, die für die Jahre zwischen 1438 und 1482 von den Stadtschreibern Johann Hertze, Johann Wunstorp und Dietrich Brandes geführt wurde, verzeichnet nach 1453 eine dichte Folge von Ereignissen, die mit den Osmanen in Verbindung stehen. Ein Teil beschäftigt sich mit den Kriegsvorbereitungen der Christen, um die Osmanen zurückzudrängen, so mit Beratungen von Kaiser und Fürsten, der Ausrüstung von Kontingenten durch den Papst, den König von Neapel und den Herzog von Burgund; Kreuzzugsaufrufen und der Sammlung von Ablassgeldern; ein anderer Teil mit Kämpfen in Ungarn, in der Ägäis, bei der Belagerung von Stadt und Insel Rhodos 1480, sowie in Italien, bei der Besetzung Otrantos durch Mehmed II. 1480/81.⁵⁷ Besondere Aufmerksamkeit findet dabei der Friedensvertrag, den die Venezianer nach 16 Jahren Krieg im April 1479 mit Mehmed II. schlossen und der in seinen einzelnen Artikeln vorgestellt wird.⁵⁸ Während der venezianische Gesandte als bestechlich geschildert wird, heißt es zum Frieden, der gerade in Venedig gefeiert wird, der Teufel würde über ihn lachen, denn er werde leicht der Christenheit Unfrieden bringen.

⁵⁵ Signori, „Frauen, Kinder,“ S. 152–53; *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, Bd. 19/1: *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III.*, V. Abteilung, erste Hälfte, bearb. H. Weigel, H. Grüneisen, Göttingen 1969, S. 20.

⁵⁶ Signori, „Frauen, Kinder,“ S. 142, 153; der Text in *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, qui post adeptum pontificatum Pius eius nominis Secundus appellatus est, opera quae extant omnia, nunc demum post corruptissimas editiones summa diligentia castigata et in unum corpus redacta, quorum elenchum uersa pagella indicabit*, Basel: Henricus Petri 1571, ND Frankfurt a.M. 1967, S. 680 E-F.

⁵⁷ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, Bd. 4, Nr. 1761, 1765–66, 1776, 1780, 1840, 1882, S. 168, 175–77, 194–96, 200, 292, 351–55; Bd. 5, Nr. 2097, 2099, 2102, 2109, 2124, S. 223–27, 233–36, 251–52; ausführlicher bei Vogtherr, „Wenn hinten, weit, in der Türkei,“ S. 118–23.

⁵⁸ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, Bd. 5, Nr. 2088, S. 214–18; zur Einordnung Vogtherr, „Wenn hinten, weit, in der Türkei,“ S. 122; Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, S. 96–7.

Nur in Selbstzeugnissen und Reiseberichten wird das Bild der Türken und des Osmanischen Reichs etwas revidiert.⁵⁹ Als einer von vielen Christen, die unter Zwang in osmanische Dienste treten mussten, hat Hans Schiltberger ausführlich und in Gestalt eines Reiseberichts vom Osmanischen Reich sowie – eher nebenher – von seinem persönlichen Schicksal berichtet.⁶⁰ Er geriet mit etwa 16 Jahren 1396 in der Schlacht bei Nikopolis in türkische Gefangenschaft, blieb 31 Jahre als Militärsklave in verschiedenen Funktionen in osmanischen Diensten, konnte schließlich zusammen mit anderen fliehen und kehrte über Konstantinopel in seine bayerische Heimat zurück. Obwohl er nichts über einen Übertritt zum Islam berichtet, kennt er doch das entsprechende Ritual, die Gebetszeiten und rituelle Vorschriften. Er hebt die vorbildliche Ruhe hervor, die die Muslime in den Moscheen – anders als die Christen in ihren Kirchen – einhalten und stellt sich positiv zu moralischen Verpflichtungen der Kaufleute. Reiseberichte vor 1453 schildern selbst die osmanischen Herrscher nicht nur negativ, so etwa der Katalane Pero Tafur, der bei seinen Reisen zwischen 1435 und 1439 zweimal dem Sultan Murad II. begegnete und ihm durchaus positive Seiten abgewinnen konnte.⁶¹ Dies änderte sich mit dem Fall Konstantinopels, doch wurde das negative Bild immer wieder relativiert, wenn es um direkte Kontakte ging. Selbst Pius II. – der wohl 1456 auch durch die auf seine Anregung hin entstandene kleine Schrift des aus Negroponte (Euböa) stammenden Niccolò Sagundino über die Geschichte der Osmanen und die Eroberung Konstantinopels informiert worden war⁶² – scheint seinen Gegenspieler, Mehmed II., so weit als gleichwertigen Partner akzeptiert zu haben, dass er 1461 längere Zeit ernsthaft an einem Brief arbeitete, der den Sultan von der Bekehrung überzeugen wollte und ihm dafür eine neue *translatio imperii*, somit das Kaisertum, versprach.⁶³ So kann es nicht überraschen, dass auch der Ratgeber Karls des Kühnen von Burgund und Ludwigs XI. von Frankreich, Philippe de Commines, in seinen *Mémoires* in der Retrospektive Mehmed II. neben Ludwig und Matthias Corvinus für einen der drei größten Männer des 15. Jahrhunderts hielt und ihn einen „kluge(n) und tapfere(n) Fürs-

⁵⁹ Zu den Reiseberichten vgl. F. Reichert, *Erfahrung der Welt, Reisen und Kulturbegegnung im späten Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2001, S. 130–36; Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent*, S. 176–96.

⁶⁰ Vgl. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, S. 200–201; H.-J. Schiewer, „Leben unter Heiden. Hans Schiltbergers türkische und tatarische Erfahrungen,“ *Daphnis* 21 (1992), S. 159–78; Ausgabe: *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch*. Nach der Nürnberger Handschrift hg. V. Langmantel, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins 172, Stuttgart 1885.

⁶¹ *Andanças e Viages de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435–1439)*, hg. M. J. de la Espada, Coleccion de Libros Españoles raros o curiosos 8, Madrid 1874, S. 156; Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435–39*, übers./ komm. M. Letts, *The Broadway Travellers*, London 1926, S. 128.

⁶² Durch den ihm gewidmeten *Liber de familia Autumanorum ad Eneam Senarum episcopum*, s. Jorga, *Notes et Extraits*, 3, S. 323–25; er verarbeitete den Text in seinen weiteren Schriften, Helmroth, *Pius II.*, S. 109.

⁶³ Dazu u.a. Helmroth, *Pius II.*, bes. S. 124–27.

ten“ nannte.⁶⁴ Weiterhin brachten die Beziehungen zu den italienischen Seestädten – etwa der auch in Lübeck intensiv wahrgenommene Friede Venedigs mit den Osmanen 1479 – ebenso Elemente eines friedlichen Austauschs mit sich. Ein Beispiel bietet das Porträt Mehmeds II. durch Gentile Bellini. Nach dem Friedensschluss erbat der Sultan ausdrücklich von Venedig – neben anderen Künstlern – einen Maler, und der Senat entsandte daraufhin Bellini, der nicht nur 1480 den bereits schwer kranken Sultan malte, sondern auch dessen Gemächer ausschmückte, wohl mit freizügigen Liebesdarstellungen, die Mehmeds Sohn Bayezid II. wieder entfernen ließ.⁶⁵

Die als wachsende Bedrohung wahrgenommene osmanische Expansion führte jedoch dazu, dass sich die politischen Theoretiker der Zeit zunehmend über Möglichkeiten für einen europäischen Frieden Gedanken machten, um die Abwehr der osmanischen Angriffe besser organisieren zu können.⁶⁶ Ein Beispiel aus dem Bereich der zahlreichen Diskussionen über das Thema „Krieg und Frieden“ bietet der „Friedensplan“ des böhmischen Königs Georg von Podiebrad von 1462–1464, mit dem er auf seine Bedrohung durch die päpstliche Kurie reagierte, die ihn als Vertreter der gemäßigten Hussiten der Häresie beschuldigte.⁶⁷ Im Gegenzug entwickelten er und seine Berater den Plan, innerhalb der Christenheit Frieden zu stiften, um einen Kreuzzug gegen die als Verfolger der Christenheit in islamischer Tradition stehenden, negativ dargestellten Osmanen auf den Weg zu bringen, wobei es kein Zufall ist, dass weder Papst noch Kaiser in ihrem Vertragsentwurf eine Rolle spielen.⁶⁸ Angestrebt wurde ein Bund von Fürsten, der zur Wahrung des Friedens ein Kollegium und einen Gerichtshof einrichten sollte, die permanent tagten, zunächst fünf Jahre in Basel, also in Deutschland, dann in einer französischen, anschließend in einer italienischen und dann gegebenenfalls in weiteren Städten; ihr Sitz sollte somit zwischen den Konzilsnationen wandern. Das Kollegium sollte – als eine Art „europäischer Kommission“ – über eine eigene Verwaltung, ein eigenes Siegel und ein eigenes Archiv verfügen. Für den Kampf gegen die Osmanen sollte zudem eine Währungseinheit verwirklicht, also

⁶⁴ Ph. de Commines, *Mémoires*, Hg. J. Calmette, 3 Bde. Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age, 3, 5, 6) Paris 1924–1925; hier zitiert nach der Übers. Ph. de Commines, *Memoiren. Europa in der Krise zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, übers. F. Ernst, Stuttgart 1952, S. 282.

⁶⁵ F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer. Weltstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, München 1953, ND München 1987, Serie Piper, S. 416–17.

⁶⁶ Dazu insgesamt Mertens, *Friede*, bes. S. 68–86.

⁶⁷ Mehrsprachige Ausgabe von F. Kavka, V. Outrata, J. Polišenský, Hg., *The Universal Peace Organization of King George of Bohemia. A Fifteenth Century Plan for World Peace 1462/1464*, Prag 1964, Edition des Texts S. 71–80; vgl. weiter Mertens, *Friede*, S. 80–81; Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent*, S. 215–16.

⁶⁸ Der Papst kommt nur beim Einzug des Zehnten ins Spiel, ebd., S. 79, der Kaiser nur über die Mitwirkung der deutschen Nation, zumal die erste Versammlung wie einst das Konzil in Basel tagen sollte, S. 77.

eine Art „Euro“ ausgegeben, werden.⁶⁹ Podiebrads Friedensplan spiegelt somit bereits nicht nur (oder auch: nicht mehr) ein christliches, sondern auch ein „europäisches“ Gemeinschaftsgefühl.

Auch das Papsttum bemühte sich weiterhin um einen europäischen Frieden, um erfolgreicher gegen die Osmanen kämpfen zu können. Nach dem Fehlschlag des Kongresses von Mantua⁷⁰ und dem Scheitern des Kreuzzugs nach dem Tod des Papstes in Ancona war es dann sein Nachfolger Paul II., der 1468 einseitig einen italienischen Frieden verkündete.⁷¹ Dieses mit viel Aufwand begangene Ereignis zog mehrere Schriften zur Problematik von Krieg und Frieden nach sich. An erster Stelle war dies der Text der Predigt des Bischofs von Brescia, Domenico de' Domenichi, zum Himmelfahrtstag 1468, an dem zum Thema Frieden sprechende *Pax Paolina* offiziell verkündet wurde, ohne allerdings den Türkenkrieg zu erwähnen.⁷²

Der wohl bedeutendste Beitrag zum Anlass ist jedoch der „Dialog“ zwischen dem wegen einer Verschwörung in der Engelsburg inhaftierten Humanisten Bartolomeo Platina und dem Kastellan der Engelsburg, dem spanischen Bischof Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Während Platina im ersten Teil der Schrift den Frieden verteidigte, übernahm Sánchez im zweiten die zumindest aus heutiger Sicht schwierigere Aufgabe der *commendatio belli*, des Kriegslobs. Es ist dabei wohl kein Zufall, wenn Platina in seinem Plädoyer für den Frieden mit bewegten Worten nach antiken Vorbildern den Fall einer Stadt beklagt, mit denselben Motiven, wie sie das Bild der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Osmanen kennzeichneten, wenn auch mit antiken Beispielen.⁷³ Entsprechend kann man in der Feststellung seines Gegenspielers, dass es den wahren Frieden auf Erden nicht geben kann, und hinter der Hervorhebung der alltäglichen Notwendigkeit und Nützlichkeit des Kampfes Hinweise auf die Notwendigkeit der Auseinandersetzung mit den Osmanen sehen. Unter anderem führt Sánchez nach Überlegungen zu den ontologischen Ursachen des Krieges aus: „Also ist es völlig klar, dass Lebewesen von Natur aus kriegerisch sind. Andernfalls aber führen sie ein Leben in

⁶⁹ Ebd., S. 77: [...] *Provideatur de communi moneta, per quam in exercitu venientes in eundo, stando et redeundo non graventur.*

⁷⁰ Wie Anm. 38.

⁷¹ Zum Frieden von 1468 vgl. L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Bd. 2: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Thronbesteigung Pius' II. bis zum Tode Sixtus' IV.*, Freiburg, 13. Aufl. 1955, S. 415–19; D. Kurze, „Zeitgenossen über Krieg und Frieden anlässlich der Pax Paolina (röm. Frieden) von 1468 (1986),“ ND in ders. *Klerus, Ketzer, Kriege und Prophetien. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Hg. J. Sarnowsky, M.-L. Heckmann, S. Jenks, Warendorf 1996, S. 393–433, hier besonders S. 397–99; (mit zentralen Texten) W. Benziger, *Zur Theorie von Krieg und Frieden in der italienischen Renaissance. Die Disputatio de pace et bello zwischen Bartolomeo Platina und Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo und andere anlässlich der Pax Paolina (Rom 1468) entstandene Schriften*. Mit Edition und Übersetzung, Frankfurt a. M. usw. 1996, dort I, S. 32–41 zur historischen Einordnung der *Pax Paolina*.

⁷² Benziger, *Zur Theorie von Krieg*, I, S. 163–64.

⁷³ Ebd., Edition, Platina, Nr. 12–13, II, S. 11–12 (lat.), III, S. 10–11 (dt.).

Knechtschaft oder sterben.“⁷⁴ Dieser Disput bleibt allerdings eher allgemein; sowohl Platina wie auch Sánchez nehmen aber zum Kampf gegen die Osmanen in anderen Reden Stellung, die sie zum selben oder anderen Anlässen gehalten haben.⁷⁵ Dort heben sie – wie immer nach dem Fall Konstantinopels vor dem Hintergrund der „Türkengefahr“ – die Grausamkeit der Gegner und die von ihnen ausgehenden Gefahren hervor, die den Frieden zwischen den europäischen Gegnern, hinreichende militärische Kontingente und eine ausreichende Finanzierung erforderlich machen.⁷⁶

Überhaupt bilden die „Türkenreden“ seit dem Fall Konstantinopels eine eigene Textgattung, die – zusammen mit der Gegnerschaft gegenüber den Osmanen – auch ein gesamteuropäisches Bewusstsein vermittelte. Von exemplarischer Bedeutung waren die bereits angesprochenen Reden des Aeneas Silvius de Piccolomini auf den Reichstagen von 1454/1455, deren wichtigste Elemente er – wenn auch weniger erfolgreich – als Papst für den Friedenskongress zu Mantua 1459 wieder aufnahm.⁷⁷ Unter anderem formulierte er in der Frankfurter Rede von 1454 einen moralischen Anstoß für eine gemeinsame Verteidigung, indem er schrieb: *Europa, id est patria [...], domus propria, [...] sedes nostra* – Europa sei „das Vaterland, [...] das eigene Haus, [...] unser Wohnsitz“.⁷⁸

Zweifelloos gibt es keine „Erbfeindschaften“ – wie auch das Beispiel der deutsch-französischen Beziehungen zeigt –, denn die Kriege der Vergangenheit dürfen nicht der Maßstab für politische Entscheidungen der Gegenwart sein. Der notwendig fragmentarische Überblick über das Verhältnis des (spät)mittelalterlichen Europas zu den Osmanen hat aber für die „Vorgeschichte“ der europäisch-türkischen Beziehungen deutlich gemacht, dass es zwar kulturelle Kontakte gab, dass jedoch die Osmanen die Gegnerschaft zwischen Christen und Muslimen seit dem 7. Jahrhundert „erbt“ und selbst zu einer schweren Bedrohung für die politische und religiöse Eigenständigkeit der Christen wurden. Der lateinische Westen reagierte auf die Eroberung des (südlichen) Balkans nur spät, insbesondere mit den Kreuzzugsunternehmen seit 1396. Die Eroberung Konstantinopels 1453 hatte dann für das Bild der Osmanen weitreichende Konsequenzen. Überall verbreitete sich das Bewusstsein der Grausamkeit des osmanischen Vorgehens, das Bild der „Türkengefahr“ entstand und konnte auch durch Erlebnis- und Reiseberichte nicht abgeschwächt werden. Nur in Ausnahmen setzte sich eine positivere Bewertung der osmanischen Herrscher durch. Vielmehr gab die reale osmanische

⁷⁴ *Liquido igitur patet animalia ipsa naturaliter fore bellativa. Alias autem serviunt aut pereunt*, ebd., Sánchez, Nr. I, 12, II, S. 32 (lat.), III, S. 28 (dt).

⁷⁵ Ebd., I, S. 102–103, 153–54.

⁷⁶ S. insbesondere (zu Platina) ebd., I, S. 108.

⁷⁷ Vgl. die ungedruckte Habilitationsschrift von J. Helmuth, *Die Reichstagsreden des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini 1454/55. Studien zu Reichstag und Rhetorik*, Köln 1994; ders.: *Pius II.*, bes. ebd., S. 121–24, zu seinem Scheitern im Versuch, die Fürsten für den Kreuzzug zu mobilisieren; sowie Dieter Mertens: „*Europa, id est patria, domus propria, sedes nostra ...*“ Zu Funktionen und Überlieferung lateinischer Türkenreden im 15. Jahrhundert, in *Europa und die osmanische Expansion*, S. 39–57.

⁷⁸ S. *Aeneae Opera*, S. 678 F; Übersetzung bei Mertens, *Europa*, S. 54.

Bedrohung Anlass zu Plänen für einen europäischen Frieden, die selbst schon Ansätze für gemeinsame Strukturen enthalten. Das Bewusstwerden und die Einigung Europas vollzogen sich somit im Spätmittelalter nicht mit den Osmanen als türkische Herrscher, sondern ausdrücklich gegen sie und begründeten eine bis in die Gegenwart fortwirkende Tradition. Wer für die Aufnahme der Türkei in die Europäische Union eintritt, sollte vor diesem Hintergrund zugleich Wege aufzeigen, wie die noch im Spätmittelalter wurzelnden negativen Stereotypen – und die in engem Zusammenhang mit ihnen stehenden gesellschaftlichen Gegensätze – überwunden werden können. Dazu gehört zweifellos auch eine intensive Aufarbeitung der gemeinsamen Geschichte, die nicht nur von einer Seite und in einseitiger Perspektive geleistet werden kann.

Fertő River

A Low Water Level Signal or Something Else?*

ANDREA KISS



'Fluvius' – definit or general hydrological term?

'*Fluvius*' – similarly to '*stagnum*' and '*lacus*' – was used in the Middle Ages as an attribute together with the proper name of Fertő (Lake Fertő/Neusiedlersee, today located at the borderline of Austria and Hungary). The name of Fertő was used not only for the above-mentioned lakes but also for several other water bodies. Thus, the expression '*fluvius Fertő*', without its context, can refer to other waters in the country.¹ In our case, nevertheless, it seemed or believed that the term '*fluvius*' was used in connection with the lake itself. As we will see later, the references to the word '*fluvius*' were applied by researchers as an indicator of contemporary environmental conditions of the lake. Thus, they made direct connection between the application of the word and the actual water level.

The '*fluvius*' problem and its possible connection to the actual water level had a quite large impact on the theories of scholars studying Lake Fertő: the problem has already appeared in the eighteenth century.² The idea that the lake sometimes became a river induced real debates and long disputes again from the 1860s.³ Probably the most detailed and influential opinion about the problem was given by Imre Nagy who argued that in the Arpadian Period and at the beginning of the fourteenth century the lake was much narrower and smaller than today. The clearest "proof" of this "fact" was the frequent use of '*stagnum Ferteu*' and '*fluvius*

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¹ For more details, see, for example, I. Szamota and Gy. Zolnai, *Magyar oklevélszótár*. [Hungarian charter-dictionary], Budapest 1902–1906. 'Fertő' appears there as *stagnum*, *prata*, *aqua*, *terre paludosa*, *locus aquosus*, *locus lutosus* (p. 242–243).

² See, for example, J. Kis, *A Fertő tavának geographiai, historiai és természeti leírása 1797-ben*. [Description of the geographical, historical and natural conditions of Lake Fertő in 1797] Pest 1816.

³ See, for example, I. Nagy, "Sopron múltja," [Past of Sopron], *Századok* 8 (1883), 12–52. G. Thirring, "A Fertő és vidéke," [The Fertő and its surroundings] *Földrajzi Közlemények* 14 (1886), 469–508.

Ferteu'.⁴ By the first half of the twentieth century this latter opinion became widely accepted and dominant in the scholarly literature.⁵

Probably the most realistic theory, however, was published by a hydrologist, Zoltán Károlyi, in 1966.⁶ Instead of searching for the theoretical connections between the water level and the '*fluvius*' charters, on the basis of the hydrological conditions of the lake basin he pointed to the only hydrologically possible place as the most presumable location of the '*fluvius*': to the ford at Pomogy (Pamhagen, today in Austria henceforth and Sarród, between the basin of Lake Fertő and the Hanság (Wasen – A) wetlands.⁷ Although from a scholarly point of view this latter opinion, which takes hydrological and geomorphologic conditions into account, sounds more realistic, the late nineteenth-century "low water level theory" was and still is more widely known and quoted among scholars.⁸ It is also interesting to mention that probably the most respected Austrian Fertő-specialist, Fritz Kopf did not touch the '*fluvius*'-problem at all, although he studied the past water level changes of the lake.⁹

Fertő as a waterflow: the contemporary charter evidence

The term '*fluvius* Fertő' appeared in much more cases than that of the Balaton. However, since this term was also applied as an indicator of the contemporary water level and general environmental conditions of Lake Fertő, it is worth surveying the 'river'-problem in a detailed way (see Table 1):

⁴ Nagy, "Sopron múltja," 38.

⁵ See, for example, J. Bárdosi, "A magyar Fertő halászata," [The fishery of the Hungarian Fertő] Sopron 1993, 22; L. Varga, "Katasztrófák a Fertő tó életében" [Catastrophes in the life of Lake Fertő], *Állattani Közlemények* 28 (1931), 133–134; D. Élő, *Sarród monográfiája* [Monography of Sarród] Budapest 1938, 19–20.

⁶ Z. Károlyi, "A Fertő és Hanság vízügyi kérdéseinek mai állása," [Present stage of the hydrological questions of the Fertő-Hanság] in K. Stelczer, ed. *Beszámoló a Vízgazdálkodási Tudományos Kutató Intézet 1964. évi munkájából*, Budapest 1966, 170–187.

⁷ Károlyi, "A Fertő és Hanság," 179–180.

⁸ "We can find descriptions and reports already at some eleventh-century historians (*sic!*) who once called the Fertő as 'the Swamp of Moson' (*sic!*) and in other case as '*Fluvius Ferten*.' (*sic!*) This latter name was probably born in case of a very low water-level at the ford of Rust and Illmic", quotation from Z. Kováts and E. Kozmáné Tóth, eds. *A Fertő-tó természeti adottságai / Naturverhältnisse des Neusiedlersees*, Budapest 1985, 16.

⁹ F. Kopf, "Wasserwirtschaftliche Probleme des Neusiedlersees und des Seewinkels," *Österreichische Wasserwirtschaft* 15 (1963), 192.

Date of issue	Issued by	Donated to	Content	Referred place-name	Critical
1318 description: (11 and 12)	king (Charles I)	Nicolaus and Mike, noblemen of Keych ¹⁰ (neighbouring village)	prohibition (against the neighbouring nobleman)	Vitézfölde (Apetlon-A)	UB 3: 109; 11 on No. 12; s 11) 1: 81–82
September, 1318	king (Charles I)	Grange of Mönchhof	privilege, donation	Neunaigen (Mönchhof-A)	UB 3: 114
September, 1318	chapter of Győr	Heiligenkreuz (Mönchhof)	transcription, authorisation	See No. 2	UB 3: 117
January, 1324 (1 transcribed)	king (Charles I)	Thomas, nobleman of Keych	corroboration	Vitézfölde	UB 3: 167
1324 (reference to earlier royal letter)	chapter of Győr	Mönchhof	reambulation	Potfalu (Potersdorf-A)	UB 3: 175
1330 descriptions: (7, 8)	king (Charles I)	royal town of Sopron	privilege, donation	Sopron	UB 4: 261
March, 1338 (6 transcribed)	king (Charles I)	royal town of Sopron	privilege, donation	Sopron	UB 4: 245; N
April, 1339 (6 transcribed)	king (Charles I)	royal town of Sopron	privilege, donation	Sopron	UB 4: 261; H
1346	chapter of Esztergom	Paulus de Nagymarton and his relatives	landed property division	Pomogy (Pamhagen-A)	UB 5: 140; N
1360	king's secret chancellor	Johannes and Nikolaus, sons of Kemen de Jak	landed property exchange ¹²	Urkony ¹³	Nagy 1: 325

¹⁰ The village later deserted, today Götsch (a lake kept the name of the village), in Austria (Prov. Burgenland). For more details, see *Allgemeine Landestopographie des Burgenlandes*, Eisenstadt 1954, Vol. 1: 197.

¹¹ I. Lindeck-Pozza, et al., *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg*, 5 vols., Vienna 1955–2003, (henceforth: UB).

¹² It was mentioned together with such other settlements as Győrő, Ligvánd, Lózs and Urkony – all were located in Sopron County.

¹³ Deserted medieval village partly at the southern edge and partly in the ford between the Hanság and Lake Fertő. To its exact location, see: A. Kiss and I. Paszternák, "Hol volt Urkony? Történeti földrajzi és régészeti adalékok egy középkori falu topográfiájához," [Where was Urkony located? Historical geographical and archeological data on the topography of a deserted medieval village] *Soproni Szemle* 52:4 (2000), 402–419.

1410 4 transcribed)	Palatine (Nicolaus de Gara)	king (Sigismund)	dispute over property rights	Vitézfölde	DI.87832 ¹⁴
1410 4 transcribed)	chapter of Buda ¹⁵	Master Jakab	transcription, authorisation	Vitézfölde	DI.1917 ¹⁶
1416	chapter of Posega	Ilko, daughter of Johannes de Chorna	donation	Chyl (Rust-A)	R-Z 1: 150 ¹⁷
1418 in cription – see 5)	<i>vicecomites</i> and noble judges of Rábaköz region	Franciscus de Asszonfalva and Gregorius de Osth	inquiry ordered	Széplak	DI.86274; M Borsa 6: 590
1418 14 transcribed)	<i>vicecomites</i> and noble judges of Rábaköz region	Franciscus de Asszonyfalva and Gregorius de Osth	inquiry held: proved complain	Széplak	DI.86274; M Borsa 6: 616
, 1435	king (Sigismund)	Paulus and Vilhelmus de Frakno	corroboration	Pomogy	Nagy 2: 230
	(steward)	(Kanizsai-family)	inventory: incomes	Domain of Sárvár and Kapunvár	DI.37179: 3, 4
	(steward)	(Kanizsai-family)	inventory: incomes	Domain of Sárvár and Kapunvár	DI.37179: 50,
	(steward)	(Kanizsai-family)	inventory: incomes	Domain of Sárvár and Kapunvár	DI.26231: 13,

¹⁴ E. Mályusz, I. Borsa, *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* [Chartulary of the Sigismund period] Vols. 1–9, Budapest 1951–2004, 2: 378. – with reference to DI.83060. This latter charter, however, refers to a certain Moch possession in Hontvár County, and as such, has nothing to do with our present discussion. In my opinion, our reference charter must be DI.87832 instead of DI.83060. In the original charter of DI.87832, issued in June 1410, the following text is included: “*in eadem Wytezfelde quinquaginta iugera in se continente et exceptis tribus locis piscature in fluvii seu lacu feyertho in ipsa possessione Wytezfelde aparte orientali existentibus.*” In spite of this UB 3: 109–110. suggests the reading “*Fyertho.*”

¹⁵ According to UB 3: 109, it was issued by the chapter of Vasvár. On the other hand, the chapter of Buda is mentioned in the original text (DI.1917), to which I. Nagy, *Vármegye története. Oklevéltár.* [A history of Sopron County. Chartulary] 2 vols. Sopron 1889, 1: 82. also refers.

¹⁶ UB 3: 109. referring to the original charter: DI.1917. Here, my reading is the following: “... *poss Wytezfelde vocate in Comitatu Soproniensis iuxta fluuium ferthev ... terra seu possessio wytezfelde vocata in Comitatu Soproniensis inter possessionem kejch et Tard iuxta fluuium ferthev existens ... exceptis tribus locis pýscature in fluuio seu loco fertew in ... possessione wytezfelde aparte orientali existentibus....*”

¹⁷ B. Radványzsky and L. Závodszy, *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára.* [Chartulary of the Héderváry family] Budapest 1909, Vol. 1. See also, Mályusz–Borsa, *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, 5: 563.

Out of the presently known '*fluvius Fertő*' occurrences sixteen are to be found in charters while three others appear in late medieval inventories. Ten (No. 1-10) were issued in the fourteenth, six in the fifteenth (No. 11-16) and three in the early sixteenth centuries (No. 17). However, out of the ten fourteenth-century charters, two are simple transcriptions (No. 3 and 8) while in case of the other two – beyond the simple transcription – Fertő river is also mentioned in the main text (No. 4 and 7). Out of the six fifteenth-century charters, three are transcriptions (No. 11, 12 and 15, but the last one is a transcript of a fifteenth-century charter) and three are originals where '*fluvius*' name was directly used (No. 13, 14, 16). Additionally, the three sixteenth-century inventories are also contemporary. These proportions are important, because there is a clear evidence that both in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Fertő river appeared as an original, contemporary ("alive") term and not merely as a simple transcription. Thus, on the basis of dates, '*fluvius Fertő*' was an actively used term in the fourteenth, fifteenth as well as in the early sixteenth centuries.

Spatial distribution of local names

Studying the geographical distribution of the villages to which charters primarily refer, the proportions become even more interesting. Seven charters still refer directly to the area around and in the ford between Lake Fertő and the Hanság wetlands (No. 1, 4, 9-12, 16), but No. 11 and 12 are simple transcriptions. Additionally, we also have to count here with No. 14 and 15 (though 15 is mere a transcription of 14), since the village of Széplak is located not far from the ford, either (the neighboring village, Sarród, is already located at the ford). However, it is much more difficult to find any connection between the rest of the referred settlements, apart from the fact that all landowners (or those who ordered the charter) lived in the Fertő-area or possessed lands which were directly located at the shoreline of Lake Fertő.

Out of these extant eight occurrences, three early fourteenth-century charters refer to Sopron (No. 6-8); actually, to a certain *tributum* of the Fertő river, possessed by Sopron.¹⁸ Another three is connected to the Cistercian grange of Mön-

¹⁸ The '*tributum Fertő*'-problem is especially complicated because it seems that there was not only one such "tax", but different '*tributum Fertő*' was levied, for example, in the village of Meggyes (e.g., in 1311, cf. Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 1: 73; 1352: Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 1: 237, etc.), at the western shoreline, close to Sopron, some other *tributum* was mentioned in Széplak (1335: Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 1: 132: "*tributum ... in pratis Fertew*"), and at Sarród (1420: Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 2: 48: „*cum tributo aque seu lacu Fertew vocati*” – at the ford) all connected to the lake. See also: J. Belitzky, *Sopron vármegye története*. [History of Sopron county] Budapest 1938, 1: 640-641.

To the lake *tributum*, mentioned in general, see for example: Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 1: 241 (1353): "*medieta tributi Fertew*" J. Házi, ed. *Sopron szabad királyi város története. Oklevelek*. [A history of the royal exempt town of Sopron. Diplomatarium] 2 ser. Sopron 1921-1943, Ser. 1, Vol. 3: 342 (1451): "*tributum nostrum de lacu Ferthe*," Házi, *Sopron*, 1/4: 242 (1457): "*ut sibi ex parte tributi Fferthew fecistis*," Házi, *Sopron*, 1/5: 108 (1277/1317/1464): "*Ad hec volumus* (Ladislau IV), *quod medietatem tributi Ferthew, quam Bela, avus*

chhof/Barátudvar (Mönchhof-A) and its possession (No. 2, 3, 5), Pátfalú (Podersdorf-A), located at the eastern shoreline of the lake – dated approximately to the same period. In the sixteenth-century inventories of Kapuvár domain (No. 17–19) the incomes of the river were mentioned either without any localization (though clearly belonging to the lake) or together with the name of a fisher from Hegykő, a settlement located at the southern shoreline of Lake Fertő. However, we have no information whether the mentioned person paid for the fishing rights of a particular area of the ford (which was and still is one of the richest areas in fish at Fertő),¹⁹ or he paid for fishing in other places or in the whole lake.

Last but not least, the biggest “mystery” comes with the early fifteenth-century appearance of Rust *‘iuxta fluvium fertu’*, since this settlement is located at the western shoreline of the lake (No. 13). Out of the nineteen data, this is the only charter evidence which connects the Fertő river with the Illmic-Rust area where several late nineteenth-century researchers located the *‘fluvius’*. Mönchhof, Podersdorf and Rust were all located at the shoreline of the lake or their possessions extended to the shoreline. Thus, in the last cases the name *‘fluvius’* in itself could only refer to the whole lake; on the basis of the available information, however, no specific area can be determined.

As we can see, merely on the basis of the location of the toponyms no clear conclusion can be drawn. Nevertheless, it seems that around half of the charters refer to the close surroundings of the ford between the lake and the wetland area.

People, authorities and the main reasons of issuing charter evidence

It is also important to know to what extent were the people who demanded or issued the charters could be aware of the local environmental conditions. In case of the noblemen of Keych (No. 1 and 4) it is quite clear that they – living at the actual spot (in the neighboring village) – had clear information about the exact conditions, especially because they even specified the three fishing places in the ‘river’ itself. It is also quite obvious that the authors of the early sixteenth-century inventories had to be well-aware of the place they were writing about. However, what can we do with the other cases? The picture is quite clear: with the excep-

noster, et Stephanus, pater noster, ..., pro reparatione et conservacione turrium... concesserant;” Házi, *Sopron*, 1/6: 148 (1496): “*semper et antiquo lacu sive stagnum Fewrthew nuncupatum, cum media pars illius lacus sive tributum eiusdem, ... libere et secure piscari habuerint,...*” Házi, *Sopron*, 1/7: 387 (1530): “*ob solucionem annuam tributi Fertew, vulgo reciale nuncupatum.*”

In German documents, presumably the same *‘tributum Fertő’* appears under the name of *‘seemaut’*. See, for example: Házi, *Sopron*, 1/3: 33; the *urbarium* of Kismarton/Eisenstadt (1515: D1.258610) – for more *‘Seemaut’* reference, see Note 6.

¹⁹ See for example: 1356: Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 1: 257, 1558: Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 2: 640: “*... necnon vadi in fine eiusdem possessionis Sarrod super stagnum Ferthew versus possessionem Pamagh tendentis, piscaturarumque eiusdem stagni Ferthew ad eandem porcionem pertinencium....*”

Note the *‘vadum’* which indirectly refers to a road crossing the wetlands from the north to the south.

tion of King Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437), all the others who ordered or asked for the charters to be issued were not only landowners in the close vicinity of the lake, either in Sopron or in Moson counties, but in most cases the centre of their possessions were located in these two counties, not far from the lake. So, those who asked for the charters presumably came from the area and they therefore had to know it well enough not to make a big mistake with basic topographic names.

It is a rather interesting point that almost one third of all the charters (seven) were issued by the king and two others by his close “colleagues,” namely the palatine and the secret chancellor. The fact that those who asked for these charters went that far and found it important to have the highest legislation in their problem shows the general significance of their problems – or that of the reference area.

In the two cases of four charters (No. 3, 5, 14, 15) local authorities (chapter of Győr, *vicecomites* and local noble judges) issued the documents to record local affairs. In both cases a local survey was needed. Thus, while in half of the cases the highest authorities issued the charters which fact shows a special importance of either the actual legal problems, persons (who asked for the charter) or the geographical location, there are examples for local debates where local legal bodies issued the documents referring to Fertő river, after making a local survey to give a correct proof about the exact circumstances of the actual legal case.

Probably the most important key to answer the Fertő-river question is, however, why all these charters were written and how much their descriptions are connected to specific lands, waters as well as other features of the area. The answer is not obvious, since there is only one charter, with perambulation of boundaries, in which the ‘river’ can only mean the (eastern shoreline of the) lake at Podersdorf (No. 5). In most other cases the river-name is applied to locate certain settlements (“*iuxta/prope fluvium fertu*” – see No. 1–4, 9–16) or fishing places (No. 1). Except for the case of Rust (No. 13), all the ‘*iuxta/prope fluvium fertu*’ mentionings are connected to settlements at the above-mentioned ford (No. 1–4, 9–12, 14–16). The rest of the cases refer to the half of the ‘*tributum*’, tax in the Fertő river (No. 6–8): a donation asked by the citizens of Sopron and donated by the king. Additionally, the early sixteenth-century ‘*Inventarium super fluvium ferthev*’ sounds to have a somewhat similar meaning of the river – since the rights (and the whole area) indeed belonged to the powerful Kanizsai family.

Lake or river? The testimony of other contemporary charters

Thus, with the exception of the reambulation of Podersdorf and the case of Rust, all the ‘*iuxta fluvium fertu*’ settlements were located around the ford. In other cases of Sopron and the *inventaria* no direct evidence is given in the source concerning location, but – as a possible option – there is a good chance that it was also geographically connected to the ford. In the late eighteenth century for example, in contemporary maps or eighteenth–nineteenth century written evidence,²⁰ cer-

²⁰ See, e.g. MOL S80 No. 4/2; First Military Survey, Coll. V. Sec. 10 (1784), etc.

tain water flows existed in the above-mentioned area, between Pomogy and Sarród.

What do other circumstances tell us about the question?

Most of the above-mentioned settlements possess other charters as well in which they are mentioned as villages located simply at Fertő or at '*lacus*', '*stagnum*' Fertő.²¹ The same is true for '*tributum fertew*' which exact meaning, as we could already see, has not been properly analyzed and explained yet. Moreover, in the case of charter No. 16, Pomogy village is located as '*Pomagh iuxta lacum seu fluvium ferthew*,' thus, among the reference charters in one case (and its transcriptions) the term '*fluvius*' is used as a synonym of '*lacus*'.²² The Fertő river of the 1520-1522-inventories – in their time – are also without parallel: in all the other remaining late fifteenth-early sixteenth-century *urbaria* and *inventaria* (as well as charters of the same time), if it mentioned at all, Fertő is either alone in its single form or with '*lacus*', but never appears with '*fluvius*' again.²³

²¹ See, for example, Rust: Nagy 2: 307 (1441): "*Rwsth penes lacum Fertew*;" Urkony: UB 5: 63 (1344): "*Eghasaswrkon ... iuxta lacum Fertew existentis*;" Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 2: 99 (1425): "*Urkon iuxta stagnum Fertew*." Some of the neighbouring villages of the same period: Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 1: 647 (1411): "*penes lacum Ferthew, que terra Lamperti vocitaretur*;" Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 1: 618 (1410): "*Bala iuxta lacum Ferthew*" (at the ford); UB 4: 246 (1338-referring to Sásony/Widen am see – A): "*Nouo Predio domini regis et iuxta lacum Fertheu*"; Nagy 2: 48 (1420): "*de possessione seu terra ipsorum Sarod vocata ... iuxta lacum Fertew vocatum*," etc.

²² Since repetition, the application of words with approximately the same meaning (*dedimus, donauimus et contulimus*), was widely accepted in medieval charters, there is also a possibility that here we encounter the same situation. In legal sense, there is no fundamental difference between such water bodies as rivers or lakes. It is interesting to mention that the *Tripartitum*, the thematic collection of the early sixteenth-century Hungarian customary law (first published in 1517) – referring to water – never uses the word '*lacus*', but frequently mentions *aqua*, or *aquarum decursibus*, sometimes also *piscina*, *piscatura* and only once *fluvius*. See S. Kolosvári and K. Óvári, eds., *Magyar Törvénytár. Werbőczy István Hármaskönyve. Corpus Iuris Hungarici. Decretum Tripartitum*, Budapest 1897, Pars 1, Tituli 24, 85, 87, 133; Pars 2, Titulus 14.

²³ Beyond the charter evidence collected in Kiss 1999, we are in the fortunate position that the Fertő-area is probably one of the richest in preserved *inventaria* and *urbaria* in Hungary. Thus, inventories preserved for example from 1492: "*piscaverint..super lacum*" (Dl. 36992) – referring to the domain of Sárvár where *ferthew* in its simple form is mentioned; then the application of the term '*Seemaut*' of 1500/1510 (also with reference to the content of the 1526-*urbarium* of Forchtenstein, and whole reference to the *Seemaut* content of the similarly unpublished *urbarium* of Eisenstadt, 1510) in L. Prickler, *Das älteste Urbar der Grafschaft Forchtenstein von 1500/1510*, Eisenstadt 1998, 9, 116; "*proventus ferthew introitus*", "*Introitus census lacij* (or *lakw*) *ferthew*", "*pecunie ferthew introitus*" in 1520, 1521 and 1522 (Dl. 26222) – exactly in the same time as our references inventories mentioning "*fluvius fertew*" – referring to the domain of Sárvár; "*Registrum ... super lacum ferthew*" (1523: Dl. 26264 – domain of Sárvár); '*Seemaut*' references of 1515 (Dl. 258610: 144, 232 – domain of Eisenstadt).

It is worth noting that still several other late medieval *urbaria*, referring to the same area can be found in Austrian private collections, especially in the castle of Forchtens-

Thus, checking the Fertő river charters, one would suggest a relatively clear solution of the Fertő river problem. Since almost all the villages specified by the '*iuxta*' term are located exactly at or near the ford, and even the *tributum* on Fertő river would be understandable if it refers to the ford which was an important fishing area and the best place for crossing the wetland from all directions,²⁴ one would presume that the *fluviu*s is an exact geographical location: the ford between Lake Fertő and the connected wetlands of the Hanság.²⁵ On the other hand, in the light of other circumstances, such as the application and meaning of the term '*tributum Fertő*' in a quite clear way, namely as a fishing right, together with the fact that most of our reference settlements were, in other charters, located at '*lacus*' or '*stagnum Fertő*', the above-mentioned conclusion becomes less evident.

Why all these questions are important to study in such a detailed way?

Among others, probably the most important reason is to understand the medieval meaning of '*fluviu*s' in its context; whether or not it was such a clear and 'determining' term which may provide us with information precise enough that even the contemporary water level of the Fertő could be detected. Even if there is a possibility that the river meant the ford between the Fertő and the Hanság, the relatively large number of reference charters do not provide clear evidence – thus, the river could mean the whole lake as well. On the basis of all the counted data, therefore, we can state that the '*fluviu*s Fertő'-charters clearly do not support the idea of low water level conditions.

tein (related to domains Forchtenstein and Eisenstadt) and probably also in the Cistercian complex of Heiligenkreuz, where chances for access are still rather limited. For the reference of some of these *urbaria*, see Prickler 1998, XXX–XXXI. As we could see earlier, Prickler quotes or refers to the contents of many of these *urbaria* (e.g., the *urbaria* of Forchtenstein, 1526 and Eisenstadt, 1510) in his valuable book.

²⁴ In the high and later middle ages, we have to count with the usage and existence of the road leading from the north (Danube) towards the south, at the eastern shoreline of the lake through Nezsider, Védény, Pátfalu, Ilmic, Valla and Pomogy. Although compared to the main market and military roads of the country it had only secondary importance, still it was far more significant than other roads of local interest in the area. Crossing the ford at Sarród, it led into another important market route of east-west direction, located at the southern shoreline of the lake. See *Allgemeine Landestopographie* 1954, 39. There is a possibility that a charter issued in 1420 (Nagy, *Sopron vármegye*, 2: 48) already refers to the tax (*tributum Fertő*) paid for crossing the ford (similar to several sixteenth–seventeenth-century *Urbaria* of the area where the case is properly described) at Sarród. Nevertheless, since the meaning of this *tributum* can as well refer to the fishing rights, at the moment we cannot draw any adequate conclusions.

²⁵ Since the rivers and streams flowing into Lake Fertő and the western Hanság wetlands had consequently the same names throughout the medieval period, it is not very likely that the '*fluviu*s' would have been any of them. Moreover, non of the '*iuxta*' place-names were located at these rivers or streams.

Other than a river? Detecting medieval water level of the Fertő

After all descriptions the question could be raised whether or not there are other, more reliable indicators in the medieval written pieces of evidence which may provide us with contemporary evidence concerning the actual water level conditions of the lake. One of such possibilities is connected to the frequently used hydrological term of the '*fok*'. This Hungarian word in medieval and early modern, modern terminology usually refers to a short water-flow which links two water bodies with each other: one is usually a 'living' water body, in most cases a river, less frequently a lake with its low-plain inundation area located over the banks of the river (or lake).²⁶

Lake Fertő also had at least one *fok*, documented in the 1430s. This *fok* led the water from the Fertő towards its low-lying inundation area, presumably separated by a row of sand dunes. In this inundation area there was at least one fishpond which gained large interest in the 1430s and as such, relatively detailed information is available on its actual state and the way of its utilization in 1434 and 1435.²⁷ The periodic (fish)pond of the Csitvándi family located in the inundation area of the Fertő at its northeastern shorelines nearby the village of Csitvánd (today deserted close to Gols in Austria), entirely depended on the water level conditions of the Lake: in case of low water level, the pond dried up while high water level brought back the water – in this case the basin functioned as a fishpond again.²⁸ In a charter, issued in connection with a legal procedure, it is clearly stated that in 1434 there was not only enough water in the (fish)pond, but the fish was taken away from the pond which suggests a period (at least some months) of higher water level conditions of Lake Fertő.

Fertő as a River – An overview

The earlier, but partly still recent scholarly literature connected the term 'Fertő river' to the low waterlevel of the lake. On the other hand, a hydrologist, Zoltán Károlyi pointed to a definite geographical location, namely the ford of the Lake and the Hanság wetlands as the only possible place of the Fertő river. Thus, in order to decide over the water level-river question, the aim of the present paper was to collect the available evidence referring to the 'River.'

Being mainly local landowners and/or authorities among the interested parties, based on their origin, the people involved in the legal processes were usually well-aware of the geographical conditions of the area the charters referred to. As

²⁶ See, e.g. B. Andrásfalvy, "A Sárköz és környező Duna menti területek ősi ártéri gazdálkodása és vízhasználata a szabályozás előtt," [Early floodplain management and water exploitation in the Sárköz and neighbouring areas along the Danube] *Vízügyi Történeti Füzetek* 6 (1973): 74 p.; Z. Fodor, *Az ártéri gazdálkodás fokai a Tisza mentén*. [The fok-s of floodplain management along the Tisza river] I. Magyar Földrajzi Konferencia, Tanulmánykötet CD-ROM, Szeged 2001, 1–10. For the medieval meanings, see e.g. A. Kiss, F. Piti, "A fertői fok," [The 'fok' of Fertő] *Soproni Szemle* 59:2 (2005), 166–168.

²⁷ Df.278003.

²⁸ Kiss-Piti, "A fertői fok," 172–178.

far as the geographical distribution is concerned, out of the nineteen cases nine could be directly connected to the above-mentioned ford, while others were either not clearly specified (three) or connected to other settlements along the shoreline of the Lake (in seven cases). Thus, while a clear connection can be detected in the geographical location of the majority of Fertő river mentionings, the existence of other Fertő-river charters suggests that this terminology cannot be automatically connected to the ford, and in the latter cases the 'river' might as well meant the whole lake itself.

At the same time when the 'river' term was used, the Fertő also appeared in charters as a lake or a stagnant body of water and thus, the term cannot be directly connected to the low water levels of the Lake. As such, the 'river' term is not in any sense the signal of the actual low water level of the Fertő. Another, more reliable indicator of the water level can be the case when in the mid-1430s the lake extended to its inundation area and filled up the temporary fishpond of Csitvánd which suggests higher water level conditions of the lake for an unknown period of time.

Il basso clero della Diocesi di Csanád nel 1848/49

PÉTER MIKLÓS



La storia della diocesi di Csanád, quella delle sue parrocchie e gli eventi della vita dei preti nel 1848/49 sono stati studiati nelle opere di Jenő Szentkláray,¹ Sándor Kováts,² Kálmán Juhász³ e Péter István Varsányi.⁴ Il titolo di vescovo di Csanád nel 1848/49 apparteneva a due prelati che svolgevano un ruolo decisivo nella vita politica, ed erano legati all'élite politica liberale e ai gruppi riformatori: József Lonovics e Mihály Horváth. Ferdinando V, re e imperatore nominò arcivescovo József Lonovics il 25 giugno 1848, e conferì la carica di vescovo di Csanád al preposto Mihály Horváth che più tardi, dopo la proclamazione dell'indipendenza dell'Ungheria e la detronizzazione della dinastia degli Asburgo, a partire dal maggio 1849, diventò ministro del Culto e dell'Istruzione Pubblica del governo Szemere. Ma il Papa (Beato) Pio IX non confermò nessuna delle due nomine.⁵ Tutti e due i pontefici spesso erano lontani dalle loro diocesi, perciò furono nominati dei vicari generali. Le funzioni del vicario furono esercitate da Ignác Fábry, vescovo titolare tra gennaio 1831 e agosto 1848, e da József Róka, canonico a partire dal 27 agosto 1848. La diocesi di Csanád però fu spezzata in due parti alla fine dell'ottobre 1848 e all'inizio di novembre a causa dell'occupazione austriaca di Timisoara.

¹ J. Szentkláray, *A csanád-egyházmegyei plébániák története*. [La storia delle parrocchie della Diocesi di Csanád] Temesvár 1898, 92-100.

² S. Kováts, *A csanádi papnevelde története*. [La storia del seminario di Csanád] Temesvár 1908, 357-351.

³ K. Juhász, "A csanádi egyházmegye 1848/49-ben," [La diocesi di Csanád nel 1848] *Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből* 21(1994), 63-77.

⁴ P. I. Varsányi, "'Szívük legtisztább sugallata szerint.' Fejezetek a csanádi egyházmegye 1848/49-es történetéből," [Secondo il suggerimento più puro del loro cuore. Capitoli sulla storia del 1848/49 della diocesi di Csanád] *Szeged* (1998:3), 38-43.

⁵ E. Hermann, *Lonovics József római küldetésének (1840-41) belpolitikai és diplomáciai előkészítése*. [La preparazione politica e diplomatica della missione romana di József Lonovics (1840-41)] Budapest 1934.; J. Karácsonyi, *Magyarország egyháztörténete főbb vonásaiban 970-től 1900-ig*. [Momenti principali della storia ecclesiastica dell'Ungheria dal 970 al 1900] Veszprém 1929.; S. Márki, *Horváth Mihály*. [Mihály Horváth] Budapest 1917.

Il territorio occupato dagli imperiali fu diretto da Ignác Fábry da Timisoara, mentre quello controllato dal governo ungherese fu governato da József Róka da Makó, dalla residenza estiva del vescovo. Róka organizzò anche il capitolo cattedrale dai parrochi della regione e da professori di teologia. Questi ultimi non avevano molto da fare, visto che la maggior parte dei seminaristi partì soldato. Dopo la caduta della guerra d'indipendenza si restabilì l'unità territoriale del vescovato. Fu nominato vicario Ignác Fábry, futuro vescovo di Kassa, e József Róka fu tenuto in guardia nel convento francescano di Máriaradna.⁶

Mihály Horváth⁷ (1789-1865), parroco di Apátfalva scrisse la sua lettera datata del 28 gennaio 1849 a József Róka, vicario generale residente a Makó. Dal rapporto sappiamo che durante i giorni della rivoluzione e della guerra d'indipendenza Apátfalva sfuggì i combattimenti. Ma il popolo del paese partecipò nella guerra d'indipendenza ungherese, visto che nel gennaio 1849 trovarono rifugio e alloggio temporaneo a Apátfalva seimila persone di nazionalità ungherese, abitanti della parte meridionale, in fuga dai ribelli serbi.⁸

Le lettere per informare l'ufficio vescovile scritte da Antal Kreminger (1804-1885) del 7 giugno 1849 e da Endre Követs (1800-1863), parroco di Szőreg, presentano la situazione della parrocchia di Szőreg e delle sue filiali nell'estate del 1849, dopo la battaglia contro il movimento serbo del territorio meridionale, ma ancora prima della battaglia di Szőreg (5 agosto 1849), momento importante nella storia della guerra d'indipendenza. I documenti chiariscono il fatto che la maggior parte dei paesi intorno a Szeged e Szőreg furono bruciati durante la battaglia, e la maggioranza della popolazione fuggì. Sappiamo che a Szőreg non funzionava la parrocchia cattolica tra febbraio e maggio 1849. La chiesa fu danneggiata gravemente (a causa dell'incendio e i saccheggi dei ribelli), e la parrocchia aspettava un appoggio materiale per la ricostruzione dal governo ungherese attraverso la mediazione di József Osztróvszky, commissario di governo di Szeged.⁹

Szőreg è un punto caratteristico della guerra d'indipendenza. Gli scontri delle minoranze etniche sempre più forti dopo la svolta di settembre portarono a agitazioni armate nel paese, gli svolgimenti politici in Ungheria, le ideologie nazionalistiche dappertutto presenti sconvolsero la convivenza pacifica tra i serbi ortodossi e i cattolici ungheresi. Il paese era una stazione importante della campagna

⁶ P. Miklós, *Város, egyház, társadalom. Tanulmányok a szegedi katolicizmus történetéről*. [Città, chiesa, società. Studi sulla storia del cattolicesimo di Szeged.] Szeged 2004, 79-135.; P. Miklós, *Vallás, politika, művelődés. Egyháztörténeti tanulmányok*. [Religione, politica, civiltà. Studi di storia ecclesiastica.] Szeged 2006, 69-96. 'A jelen kor vészes napjaiban' Dokumentumok a csanádi püspökség 1848/49-es történetéhez, ['Nei giorni pericolosi dell'epoca presente'. Documenti per la storia del vescovato di Csanad nel 1848/49.] P. Miklós, a cura di. Szeged 2006, 8-86.

⁷ Non è identico, non ha nemmeno un legame di parentela con Mihály Horváth (1809-1878), prelado e politico. Quest'ultimo fu prete diocesano a Vác, e durante la guerra d'indipendenza vescovo eletto di Csanád, ministro del Culto.

⁸ Archivio Episcopale di Szeged-Csanád. Documenti antichi sulle diocesi. (in seguito: AESZCS DAD) Apátfalva, 188.

⁹ AESZCS DAD Szőreg, 30-31.

di Bácska di Mór Perczel, ed è diventato luogo di uno scontro decisivo negli ultimi giorni della guerra d'indipendenza. Anche il parroco di Szőreg, Endre Követs partecipò alla guerra. Lavorava come prete a Szeged e nei dintorni tra i soldati e le guardie nazionali, per cui fu messo fuori servizio per qualche anno.¹⁰

Nell'aprile 1848 scoppiò la collera contro Antal Szűcs (1803-1863), parroco di Kistelek. Il prete aggressivo, di carattere difficile non era prediletto da molto tempo dai suoi parrocchiani, ma quando dal pulpito parlava contro la rivoluzione e gli ideali della libertà lo presero in odio definitivamente. Il 9 aprile 1848, domenica nera (due settimane prima di Pasqua), biasmò gli ideali liberali e il cambiamento. I parrocchiani arrabbiati uscirono dalla chiesa, e una settimana dopo, domenica delle palme, non lasciarono entrare nella chiesa il prete che voleva celebrare la messa. Offeso dopo tutto questo Szűcs si dimise dalla carica di parroco e si trasferì a Szeged. Antal Kreminger, preposto, arciprete distrettuale mandò una delegazione con la direzione di Antal Bartucz da Szeged a Kistelek per conoscere le ragioni del conflitto. Secondo l'opinione diffusa tra gli studiosi, in base al saggio di Kálmán Juhász pubblicato da Antal Lotz, Szűcs fu imprigionato per il suo atteggiamento favorevole alla rivoluzione.¹¹ Gli abitanti di Kistelek passarono la settimana santa del 1848 senza parroco, e chiamarono un prete per la Pasqua dal chiostro francescano di Szeged-Alsóváros.

L'arciprete Kreminger il 21 aprile 1848 affidò l'amministrazione e la direzione temporanea della parrocchia di Kistelek a Pál Oltványi (1823-1909), un tempo segretario del vescovo József Lonovics.¹² Gli abitanti di Kistelek si affezionarono al giovane Oltványi in tal modo che lo volevano come parroco. Perciò si rivolsero per lettera a József Eötvös, ministro del Culto e dell'Istruzione Pubblica, e a József Lonovics, vescovo di Csanád.

Pál Oltványi trovò la cassa vuota, visto che Antal Szűcs, secondo la pratica dell'epoca, diede il denaro in avanzo a interesse ai padroni più ricchi. Il preposto Kreminger nel giugno 1848 intimò al sottoparroco di chiedere indietro i soldi o nel caso di mancato pagamento obbligare con ipoteca qualche immobile del padrone debitore.¹³ József Rácz (1813-1849) fu nominato sottoparroco di Kistelek dall'ufficio vescovile il 1 agosto 1849. Dopo che Pál Oltványi concesse la parrocchia e lasciò la diocesi, il preposto Kreminger presentò un reclamo all'ufficio vescovile. Accusò Oltványi di aver deciso sulla sorte dei soldi della parrocchia a proprio giudizio senza aver chiesto l'opinione del vescovo, e di aver dato i soldi proprio ai padroni che avevano cacciato il prete precedente.¹⁴ Pál Oltványi scrisse una lettera al vicario della diocesi di Csanád il 3 agosto. Cercò di confutare le accuse contro di lui punto per punto, in modo spiritoso, ma deciso.¹⁵

¹⁰ P. Zakar, *A magyar hadsereg tábori lelkészei 1848/49-ben*. [Cappellani castrensi dell'esercito ungherese nel 1848/49.] Budapest 1999, 83-115.

¹¹ Juhász, "A csanádi egyházmegye," 75.

¹² AESZCS DAD Kistelek, 26. B.

¹³ AESZCS DAD Kistelek, 28. A.

¹⁴ AESZCS DAD Kistelek, 26. A.

¹⁵ AESZCS DAD Kistelek, 26. B.

Il consiglio comunale di Szeged indisse l'elezione del parroco di Kistelek per il 3 luglio 1848, ma essa si realizzò solo il 7 agosto. Si presentarono otto candidati per la carica: János Bíró, Mihály Vajda, György Nyáry, Pál Oltványi, József Szabados, János Kovács, István Kaszta e Ferenc Bezdán. Alla fine fu nominato parroco Ferenc Bezdán, prete colto, e prediletto dai suoi fedeli, la cui attività già ricadeva al periodo della caduta della guerra d'indipendenza e all'epoca del neoassolutismo degli Asburgo.

Ferenc Nyáry si entusiasma degli ideali della rivoluzione e dell'indipendenza nazionale. Nonostante le regole della Chiesa portava i baffi e la barba, partecipò alle esercitazioni della guardia nazionale, e ogni giorno, dopo la messa menzionava il nome di Kossuth pubblicamente nella sua preghiera. Possiamo leggere sul verbale del consiglio comunale di Szeged: tra dicembre 1848 e aprile 1849 si cercò diverse volte di allontanare Antal Kreminger, preposto impopolare e dalle idee conservative, parroco di Szeged-Belváros, e alla fine, nel maggio 1849 la direzione liberale della città dichiarò vuota la parrocchia. Allora lui lasciò la città, ma ritornò nell'autunno del 1849, dopo l'entrata degli austriaci.¹⁶ Kreminger rispose alle accuse attraverso un documento intitolato Risposta Aperta, descrivendo punto per punto i suoi meriti sotto il servizio del governo ungherese e della libertà. A questa lettera Ferenc Nyáry rispose attraverso il libello intitolato Chiarimento Aperto in cui criticò fortemente e attaccò in modo offensivo il preposto Kreminger. Nei primi giorni di agosto 1849 Nyáry e János Szűcs, il suo cappellano, insieme al governo ungherese lasciarono Szeged. A Makó Nyáry comunicò al vicario József Róka di esser stato costretto a lasciare la sua sede, e affidò la cura spirituale dei fedeli di Szeged-Rókus a Ferenc Magyar, prete diocesano di Eger. L'ufficio vescovile diede la giurisdizione a Ferenc Magyar, così compì temporaneamente la parrocchia.¹⁷ Qualche giorno dopo, il 18 agosto 1849, Nyáry morì di colera.

Il 2 agosto 1849 nel pomeriggio si presentò a Szeged il conte János Cziráky, intendente militare del corpo d'armata imperiale IV, e il giorno dopo il barone Julius Jakob von Haynau, feldmaresciallo, comandante dell'esercito austriaco in Ungheria. Cziráky nominò sindaco della città György Wóber, e commissario reale delle regioni di Csanád e Csongrád István Temesváry, primo sottoprefetto di Csongrád. La battaglia di Szőreg fu combattuta il 5 agosto 1849, in cui le forze principali dell'Ungheria subirono una sconfitta decisiva dagli imperiali. Cziráky insieme all'esercito lasciò la città, e al suo posto Haynau il 13 agosto 1849, giorno della capitolazione di Világos, nominò Eduárd Gyulai Gaál, alto commissario del distretto di Szeged. Il distretto si componeva dei comitati di Csanád, Csongrád e Békés, e della città di Szeged.

¹⁶ J. Reizner, *Szeged története*. [Storia di Szeged] vol. 2. Szeged 1899, 153-155.

¹⁷ G. Jászai, *A szegedi Szent Rókushoz címzett r. kath. plébánia 100 éves története*. [100 anni di storia della parrocchia cattolica romana di Szeged, intitolata a San Rocco] Szeged 1905, 94.

János Cziráky il 5 agosto 1849 per la proposta di István Temesváry nominò parroco di Rókus Antal Szűcs, prete conservativo cacciato da Kistelek.¹⁸ Il problema era il fatto che Nyáry affidò legalmente a Ferenc Magyar di compiere il servizio di prete invece di lui. Di Magyar però non abbiamo informazioni, probabilmente lasciò Szeged, al massimo alla metà di agosto 1849. Szűcs fu nominato, grazie ai suoi diritti di patrono di Szeged, però il decreto non fu confermato dalle autorità diocesane.¹⁹ Per tutto questo Antal Szűcs il 19 agosto e il consiglio comunale il 22 agosto chiesero a Ignác Fábry, vicario generale, di rilasciare l'incarico ufficiale. Fábry già il 18 agosto 1849, con il decreto n. 133, concedette a Szűcs l'autorità giudiziaria e la nomina temporanea, e gli affidò di compiere i doveri di arciprete di Szeged. Con la lontananza di Antal Kreminger e con la morte di Ferenc Nyáry la parrocchia di Szeged-Rókus rimase vuota anche ufficialmente, così il 6 settembre Ignác Fábry indisse un concorso per il servizio di prete con il termine 10 ottobre. Si presentarono al concorso, all'infuori di Szűcs, József Hubert, parroco di Világos, Ignác Holczman quello di Nagylak, György Nyáry, quello di Mollyfalva, e János Szűcs, cappellano di Pécska.

La città di Szeged si rinnovò, e il suo consiglio comunale sotto pressione austriaca e il commissario István Temesváry appoggiarono Antal Szűcs. Il vicario generale informò Szeged il 31 ottobre 1849 del fatto che aveva nominato Szűcs parroco di Szeged-Rókus, e gli affidò la giurisdizione. Il 2 dicembre 1849 l'arciprete Kreminger lo investì solennemente al suo ufficio. Come sappiamo dalle opere di Kálmán Juhász e Péter István Varsányi,²⁰ fu iniziato un processo contro Antal Szűcs nel 1849 a causa della sua attività durante la rivoluzione e la guerra d'indipendenza, e fu imprigionato. Ma questo non è vero, perché i suoi sostenitori lo designarono al servizio della parrocchia di Rókus proprio per la sua fedeltà al re.²¹

Il governo Batthyányi, formatosi dopo la rivoluzione di marzo, nel maggio 1848 decise di organizzare un esercito regolare di diecimila volontari. Il limite d'età era diciotto anni compiuti, e indipendentemente dalla situazione economica chiunque poteva presentarsi. Szeged diventò il centro di raccolta delle reclute dei comitati di Bihar, Békés, Csanád, Csongrád, Krassó, Temes, Torontál, e delle città di Arad, Gyula e Nagyvárád. Il reclutamento fu diretto da József Osztróvszky e Ferdinánd Rengey, inviati del Parlamento. Il ministro Lázár Mészáros il 5 giugno 1848 avvertì l'amministrazione della città di continuare il registro fino a mille persone. Il battaglione n. 3. si componeva di 1018 persone, insieme e quelli che arrivarono in ritardo da Nagyvárád erano 1146, di cui 150 persone erano abitanti di Szeged.

Dopo il registro tutti rimasero nella propria residenza, ma durante il reclutamento i soldati arrivarono a Szeged. La città gli assicurò l'attrezzamento e la preparazione: vitto, alloggio, assistenza medica e indumenti (camicia, mutande, cap-

¹⁸ AESZCS DAD Szeged-Rókus 13. sotto questa segnalazione si trovano le lettere e i rapporti riferenti alla nomina di Antal Szűcs al posto di parroco (agosto e settembre 1849).

¹⁹ Jásza, *A szegedi Szent Rókus*, 97-98.

²⁰ Varsányi, "Szivük legtisztább sugallata szerint," 43. Juhász, "A csanádi egyházmegye," 75.

²¹ AESZCS DAD Szeged-Rókus, 13.

pello, stivali), arma (fucile, falce) e istruzione. L'alloggio e il vitto erano un grave eccessivo: erano alloggiati nel chiostro francescano di Szeged-Alsóváros, nel convento minorita di Szeged-Felsőváros e in case private. Ma i volontari facevano un chiasso, si divertivano, disturbavano i monaci con il loro comportamento.²²

Perciò il principale del convento Damascen Gaál, „presidente dei padri minori” di Szeged-Felsőváros, il 6 giugno 1848 scrisse al consiglio comunale: il suo ordine appoggiava il governo, ed era pronto a fare un sacrificio per la nazione, ma i soldati disturbavano i monaci bevendo vino e facendo chiasso costantemente, perciò proponeva di alloggiare una parte dei soldati nel convento di Alsóváros. Così non ci sarebbe stata tanta gente, e anche l'altra comunità avrebbe preso parte dei lavori di organizzazione dell'esercito: una parte dei soldati si trasferì a Alsóváros, al chiostro dei francescani.

Eduárd (Ede) Györffy, guardiano di Alsóváros il 26 giugno 1848 scrisse una lettera a Ignác Fábry, vescovo titolare, vicario generale del vescovo di Csanád. Il superiore dei monaci che compieva la sua funzione tra il 1847 e il 1853, chiese al vicario generale che i francescani consacrati, che passavano i loro anni di cappellano, potessero rimanere nei loro posti di cappellano, visto che la maggior parte del chiostro era riservata ai soldati come alloggio e ospitale. Non si poteva alloggiare nel convento i francescani che facevano un servizio a Béda, Páde e Csanádpalota. Dal documento sappiamo che c'erano otto camere a disposizione dei monaci.²³ Nonostante che il resto dell'edificio fosse libero, il consiglio comunale si riservava il diritto di utilizzo, visto che i soldati già si trovavano nel campo della parte meridionale. La direzione di Szeged era previdente, perché più tardi, una parte considerevole dei feriti, quasi la metà, sarebbe stata alloggiata nel chiostro francescano.

Per i soldati che partivano per Óbecse, contro i ribelli serbi era importante garantire l'assistenza medica. Perciò nominarono medici militari per il battaglione n. 3. Ma le battaglie della parte meridionale risultarono molte vittime, così si doveva provvedere all'alloggio dei feriti e dei malati di epidemie. Il chiostro di Alsóváros poteva accogliere 290 malati. Alla fine di giugno 1848 l'ospitale comunale di Szeged e i chiostri minorita e francescano risultarono piccoli, perciò si doveva trasformare in ospitale anche una parte del convento e la scuola dei piaristi.²⁴

A Földeák, nel comitato di Csanád il santo patrono del paese e della chiesa era San Ladislao, la cui festa si teneva ogni anno il 27 giugno. La chiesa ricevette l'indulgenza plenaria il 28 marzo 1768 dal papa Clemente XIII. Secondo il documento del papa potevano avere l'indulgenza tutti i fedeli che si confessassero nella chiesa alla festa di San Ladislao. Questo provvedimento fu proclamato dal vescovo Antal Engl durante la sua visita del 29 giugno 1768.

Per la festa arrivarono pellegrini anche dai paesi circostanti, e si divertirono fino a tarda notte. Dopo la notte passata divertendosi anche il lavoro era più du-

²² Archivio del Comitato di Csongrád. Documenti del consiglio comunale di Szeged. (in seguito: ACCS DCCSZ) 2546/6 giugno 1848.

²³ AESZCS DAD Szeged-Alsóváros, 15.

²⁴ ACCS DCCSZ 2717/ 23 giugno 1848.

ro. Così, in occasione all'indulgenza, passarono due giorni senza lavoro durante la raccolta in piena estate. Perciò la famiglia fondiaria Návoy „in nome dei fedeli” chiese alla Santa Sede di trasferire la festa alla domenica seguente. Il papa Gregorio XV, nel suo breve pubblicato il 28 gennaio 1842, accettò la proposta e permise che la festa di San Ladislao con l'indulgenza non si tenesse al suo giorno, ma la domenica seguente. Il provvedimento del papa fu firmato da József Lonovics, vescovo di Csanád, il 22 marzo 1842 e fu mandato a Földeák.

Nel 1848 gli abitanti di Földeák, liberati dalla servitù della gleba, chiesero per lettera al parroco di poter festeggiare il giorno di San Ladislao al suo giorno, e non la domenica seguente nel nuovo paese. Dalla lettera datata del 5 giugno 1848, e firmata tra l'altro dal giudice János Fodor, dal percettore Antal Kocsis, dal giudice dei giurati István Bakos e dai giurati András Bugyi e István Szalma si scopre che decisero così i fedeli nell'assemblea popolare del 1 giugno.²⁵

La lettera fu trasmessa dal parroco János Major accompagnata dalle sue righe sostenitrici il 10 giugno 1848 al vescovo di Csanád, József Lonovics. Il parroco sottolineò nella sua lettera che i fedeli dimostravano il loro spirito religioso con la costruzione del presbiterio, e non c'era perché negare la loro richiesta.²⁶ Il vescovo József Lonovics nel suo documento del 20 giugno 1848, qualche giorno prima della sua nomina di arciprete di Eger, permise di trasferire l'indulgenza di Földeák al 27 giugno.

Insieme alla formazione del nuovo paese, alla costruzione della chiesa e alla fissazione della data dell'indulgenza anche il vento della rivoluzione e la guerra d'indipendenza del 1848/49 si sentiva a Földeák. Nella vita del paese la rivoluzione civile, le leggi di aprile non portarono cambiamenti significativi, solamente consacrarono le condizioni create dalla famiglia Návoy dalle idee liberali. Il 26 marzo 1848 si tenne un'assemblea popolare, in cui furono prese decisioni sull'elezione dei nuovi dirigenti e sul registro delle guardie nazionali. Le elezioni si tennero il 1 giugno, e votarono alla direzione del paese quasi in una composizione inalterata. È un fatto interessante e caratteristico che dopo la caduta della guerra d'indipendenza, quando i dirigenti del paese non vennero più eletti, ma nominati, anche il capo distrettuale di Makó affidò le funzioni di giudice, percettore, giurati e giudice dei giurati a quelle persone che erano state elette dai paesani nell'estate 1848.

Secondo il rapporto di Mihály Návoy, sottoprefetto del comitato di Csanád, datato del 1 giugno 112 uomini di Földeák si trovavano nel registro della guardia nazionale. Quattro giorni dopo arrivò l'ordine, secondo il quale il paese avrebbe dovuto mandare dieci reclute all'esercito che si stava formando. Nel maggio 1849 il Ministero della Guerra chiedeva otto nuove reclute a Földeák, ma nessuno si presentò nel luogo del reclutamento. Nonostante che il capo distrettuale abbia chiamato tutti i ragazzi di diciotto-diciannove anni, e tra di loro abbia estratto a sorte le reclute, a causa della caduta della guerra d'indipendenza non si realizzò il loro reclutamento. Il risultato più significativo del 1848/49 per gli abitanti di

²⁵ AESZCS DAD Földeák, 52.

²⁶ AESZCS DAD Földeák, 51.

Földeák e per tutta la società agraria era la cessazione della servitù della gleba. È interessante osservare che gli abitanti del paese esercitavano i diritti di libertà civile sia attraverso la vita politica (l'elezione della nuova direzione del paese) sia nel campo della vita religiosa, e che in un paese così piccolo della parte meridionale della pianura, con solamente 3000 abitanti, si svegliò l'esigenza dell'influsso della società civile sulla Chiesa.

Nelle seguenti pagine farò conoscere quattro discorsi ecclesiastici fatti a Szeged e nei suoi dintorni cercando di ricostruire le convinzioni politiche dei preti, legate soprattutto alle questioni del diritto pubblico e a quelle della nazione-minoranze etniche. A Szeged, come centro militare del campo di guerra della parte meridionale nel 1848/49, si sentiva l'influsso della questione delle minoranze etniche.²⁷ Il morale contro le minoranze etniche (evidentemente contro i serbi per ragioni geopolitiche) può essere rintracciato nelle riviste dell'epoca (Szegedi Hírlap, Tiszavidéki Újság), in libelli e cartelli. Anche nei discorsi ecclesiastici dell'epoca valutavano la situazione politica e militare locale e nazionale. I clerici esprimevano le loro opinioni sulla nazione ungherese, sulle minoranze etniche, naturalmente in veste ecclesiastica.

Richárd Szabó (1820-1873) cappellano di Kiskundorozsma fece un discorso il 2 aprile 1848 per il cambiamento pacifico. Il discorso fu pubblicato in un quaderno di 16 pagine dalla tipografia Grün di Szeged.²⁸ Il giovane cappellano, il cui predecessore era tra il 1832 e il 1834 Mihály Horváth, storiografo, più tardi vescovo di Csanád e politico, cominciò il suo discorso con la caratterizzazione degli andamenti della storia universale. La sua visione della storia era caratterizzata dalla ciclicità e da una prospettiva organica. Secondo lui la storia e in essa gli stati e la vita delle nazioni, sul modello della natura e dell'organismo umano si sviluppavano, cambiavano, si trasformavano continuamente.

Questo spirito dell'epoca nei secoli XVIII-XIX, o come dice Szabó „nell'epoca recente”, chiamava in battaglia i suoi cittadini per i diritti, per la libertà, per la verità. L'oratore lodava i risultati della rivoluzione di marzo, la formazione del primo ministero ungherese responsabile, li interpretava come i primi passi, segni della „struttura civile” e della „compagnia civile”, cioè dello stato e società civili, moderni. Richiamò l'attenzione dei fedeli alla conservazione della fede e dello spirito religioso, perché considerò il cattolicesimo „la fede civile più bella”, portatore dell'uguaglianza dei diritti e della dignità umana. Oltre allo spirito religioso animò il suo pubblico di mantenere l'ordine e le „leggi ancora in vigore”. Si riferì come esempio negativo, non chiamandola per nome però, agli eccessi della rivoluzione francese.

In occasione all'anniversario della rivoluzione, il 15 marzo 1849, si tenne una messa solenne dietro la chiesa di Szeged-Rókus, in piazza Mars, in cui predicò József

²⁷ I. Szántó, *Szeged az 1848/49-es forradalom és szabadságharc idején*. [Szeged durante la rivoluzione e guerra d'indipendenza del 1848/49] Szeged 1987.

²⁸ R. Szabó, *Egyházi beszéd, melyet a békés átalakulás végett a váci egyházmegyei kormány által rendelt, 's Dorosmán ápril 2-án megtartott egyházi ünnepély alkalmakor mondott*. [Discorso religioso che tenne in occasione alla festa religiosa del 2 aprile a Dorosma, ordinato dal governo diocesano di Vác per la transizione pacifica.] Szeged 1848.

zsef Szabados (1818-1892). Il discorso venne pubblicato a spese di József Körösi, dalla tipografia di János Grün. ²⁹ Szabados dettò la grandezza della nazione ungherese, l'importanza della libertà e della fede cristiana. L'oratore animò i suoi fedeli alla difesa delle conquiste civili in base al diritto di resistenza degli ungheresi (clausola della Bolla d'oro del 1222), meglio dire della nobiltà ungherese. Sottolineò l'importanza delle leggi d'aprile, la necessità di formare una società ungherese di diritti uguali, basata sulla giustizia e sulla partecipazione di tutti agli oneri pubblici. Predicò il principio della supremazia del popolo, e segnò come obiettivo dei dirigenti dello stato quello di raggiungere la felicità del popolo. Riconobbe la natura della politica delle minoranze etniche della corte di Vienna, la quale incitò le minoranze etniche che vivevano nel suo territorio contro il governo ungherese. L'antecedente di tutto questo erano, secondo lui, le misure degli Asburgo in quanto alle minoranze etniche e allo stabilimento nel secolo XVIII, quando diedero privilegi ai gruppi serbi e rumeni che gli assicuravano la difesa contro i turchi ed esercitavano funzioni militari indebolendo così a poco a poco le posizioni la forza degli ungheresi. È una caratteristica dell'epoca il fatto che Szabados nel suo discorso denomina nazione solamente quella ungherese, le altre sono razze. La fine del discorso fu un incoraggiamento degli abitanti di Szeged di ricordare la campagna vittoriosa di febbraio, diretta da Mór Perczel contro i ribelli serbi.

Il 20 maggio 1849 József Szabados di nuovo fece un discorso. Il discorso venne fatto alla messa funebre per la beatitudine dei soldati morti nella battaglia di Nagysarló (19 aprile 1849) alla Chiesa San Demetrio di Szeged-Palánk, e venne pubblicato dalla tipografia di János Grün. ³⁰ Secondo il prete che in quel periodo era viceparroco (amministratore) della Chiesa San Demetrio, la nazione ungherese dimostrò la sua forza e vitalità durante la guerra d'indipendenza. La testimonianza degli ungheresi poteva servire come esempio per tutta l'Europa. Poi spiegò che c'era bisogno della sangue dei soldati e dei giovani ungheresi, perché la rinascita della nazione richiede battesimo di sangue. Fece il paragone con la tradizione storica legata alla genesi dello stato e della nazione ungherese che proviene da Anonimo, secondo la quale i capi dei conquistatori della patria elessero Álmos come principe e ratificarono il loro contratto, alleanza, patto con la loro sangue. In quanto ai 300 soldati ungheresi morti disse che le vittime sarebbero vissute nel cuore di tutta la nazione. L'opposizione della morte (qui la morte violenta dell'individuo) e della nascita (qui la nascita laboriosa della nazione che richiede delle vittime) accompagnarono fino alla fine il suo discorso che Szabados cercò di

²⁹ J. Szabados, *Egyházi beszéd, melyet 1849-ik évi mártius 15-kén, midőn új alkotmányunk évvünnepe tartaték, Szegeden a Marstéren mondott*. [Discorso religioso che tenne in piazza Mars a Szeged, il 15 marzo 1849 in occasione all'anniversario della nostra nuova costituzione] Szeged 1849.

³⁰ J. Szabados, *Gyász-beszéd, melyet 1849-ik évi május 20-án a magyar nemzetnek Nagy-Sarlónál f. évi ápril hó 19-én nyert győzelemkor elesett hű fiaieért, a Szeged Szent-dömei egyházban tartott engesztelő-áldozat alkalmával mondott*. [Orazione funebre che tenne in occasione al sacrificio espiatorio della chiesa San Demetrio di Szeged, il 20 maggio 1849 per i figli fedeli della nazione ungherese caduti a Nagy-Sarló il 19 aprile dell'anno corrente.] Szeged 1849.

attenuare con il topos secondo il quale l'albero della libertà ungherese cresce e si nutre dalle tombe delle vittime della guerra.

Appena due settimane dopo anche nella Chiesa di Szeged-Rókus si celebrò una messa, una processione e una preghiera per il successo dell'intervenzione contro i russi. Per l'iniziativa di Mihály Horváth, vescovo eletto di Csanád, ministro del Culto e dell'Istruzione Pubblica recentemente nominato dal governo Szemere, il governo ungherese e il corpo vescovile bandirono una crociata contro di loro. Il 31 maggio 1849 a Rókus fece un discorso Antal Korompay (Krum), prete cattolico, professore di storia al Liceo di Temesvár che nell'agosto 1849, durante la capitolazione, era parroco di Világos. Il testo scritto pure fu pubblicato dalla tipografia di János Grün.³¹ Korompay criticava fortemente gli Absburgo, li chiamava come oppressori della nazione ungherese, tiranni immorali. Fece un compendio dei 300 anni dei movimenti ungheresi per la libertà. È interessante che il prete cattolico menzioni come ingiustizia la tribunale di sangue di Pozsony dell'anno 1674 e il macello di Caraffa a Eperjes, visto che questi eventi miravano a liquidare il protestantesimo (e l'acquisto del patrimonio dei protestanti) con l'appoggio innegabilmente servile della Chiesa Cattolica. A partire dal secolo XVII il movimento nazionale ungherese per la libertà era fortemente legato alle ambizioni di emancipazione dei protestanti. Più che altro la chiesa protestante rivendicava la coscienza nazionale, le tradizioni ungheresi, perché la maggior parte dei fedeli evangelici aveva la nazionalità tedesca o slovacca. L'alto clero cattolico, come si sapeva benissimo, era di spirito aulico.

Come esempio della tirannia dispotica austriaca l'oratore menzionò la sorte di Ferenc Rákóczi II, di Ignác Martinovics e quella di Lajos Kossuth, imprigionato. Ma la dinastia non imparò niente dalle rivoluzioni viennese, italiana, ceca e ungherese, nemmeno dalla detronizzazione. Korompay menzionò come ultima stazione della perdizione morale completa della dinastia imperiale, il rivolgimento al zar russo. Nel suo discorso elencò lungamente gli esempi dell'impazienza religiosa del governo ortodosso russo: le loro azioni contro i cattolici romani polacchi, i cattolici greci ucraini e lituani e gli evangelici, baltici, tedeschi. Crearono una situazione impossibile per le chiese cattoliche greche unite, gli toglievano il patrimonio, e alla fine le costrinsero sotto la giurisdizione del patriarca di Mosca.

Contro l'intervenzione russa, secondo lui, il governo scelse la possibilità più efficace e indisse una crociata. Parlava dell'esercito del zar come bracci della famiglia traditrice degli Absburgo che entrarono nel paese per massacrare la nazione, la libertà ungherese e la fede cattolica romana. Anche Antal Korompay finì il suo discorso incoraggiando gli abitanti di Szeged. Parlò dei gruppi di San Giovanni da Capistrano e János Hunyadi che si erano riuniti a Szeged prima di ritirarsi per la difesa di Nándorfehérvár nel 1456.

³¹ A. Korompay (Krum), *Alkalmi beszéd, melyet a Szeged Sz.-Rókusi egyházban a muszka be-
vatkozásból származható veszély elhárítása végett rendelt 1ső egyházi szentmenet alkalmával
1849-dik évi május 31-kén mondott.* [Discorso festivo che tenne il 31 maggio 1849, nella
chiesa San Rocco di Szeged, in occasione alla prima processione dei misteri per la
scongiorazione del pericolo di un'intervenzione russa.] Szeged 1849.

Questi discorsi ecclesiastici sono delle stazioni di un processo. Da questi si può seguire come cambiava l'opinione dei clerici, e con loro quella dei suoi fedeli, e della maggior parte dei loro contemporanei sulla politica del governo ungherese e della corte viennese, sul ruolo e sulle possibilità dell'Ungheria indipendente, sulle eventualità della guerra d'indipendenza e sulla questione delle minoranze etniche. Gli oratori ecclesiastici di Szeged sotto il concetto della nazione intendevano sempre la nazione politica, e non una comunità linguistica, culturale e religiosa. Così consideravano come nazione unica esclusivamente quella ungherese, dopo la svolta di settembre, ma soprattutto dopo la detronizzazione in modo sempre più deciso e radicale. Parlavano delle minoranze etniche come nemici della nazione ungherese, sostenitori della tirannia, e anche per loro, come per la maggioranza dei politici liberali fu una delusione il fatto che le minoranze etniche, in cambio allo stato, alle conquiste civili, all'uguaglianza dei diritti non volevano accettare l'assimilazione, o almeno l'appartenenza allo stato ungherese.

Traduzione di ESZTER SERMANN

Lo sviluppo economico della città di Gorizia e la nascita della ditta "and. Abuja" tra 1899 e 1914: due percorsi paralleli

GIANGIACOMO DELLA CHIESA



Andrea Abuja¹ nato il 14 novembre 1838 a Vorderberg, presso Graz, sposato con Teresa Wedam, decise, nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, di trasferirsi nella Contea di Gorizia. Gli anni esatti nei quali avvenne il trasferimento non ci sono noti, ma in compenso i documenti trovati nell'archivio di famiglia riguardanti i figli, Antonio Abuja e Andrea Abuja, ci dicono che questi nacquero rispettivamente il 3 giugno 1885 e il 29 ottobre 1887 a Cormons, (Gorizia). Cercare di capire cosa porti la famiglia Abuja a trasferirsi dalla Stiria alla Contea di Gorizia e Gradisca è importante per poter valutare il potere d'attrazione di Gorizia e del suo territorio, tra '800 e '900, nei confronti delle altre regioni dell'Impero Austro-Ungarico, e cosa era in grado di offrire ai nuovi arrivati in termini di posti di lavoro o possibili investimenti.

La città di Gorizia,² perdendo il ruolo di polo industriale della Contea a favore di Monfalcone, che diventa il polo industriale di Trieste, si trasformò, sfruttando la sua posizione geografica favorevole, nel polo commerciale della Contea, puntando sull'esportazione nell'Impero della produzione agricola locale; tra questa il vino occupava il posto più importante.

La viti-vinocoltura nella Contea di Gorizia tra '800 e '900

La viti-vinocoltura tra '800 e '900 nella Contea di Gorizia attraversava un momento molto delicato. La coltivazione della vite nella Contea di Gorizia interessava la

¹ Tutte le informazioni sulla famiglia Abuja che qui seguono provengono dalla Collezione privata di Andrea Abuja IV, d'ora in poi quest'ultima verrà menzionata con la sigla AFA (Archivio famiglia Abuja). E' utile sottolineare che tale archivio non è stato ordinato in nessuna maniera e che i vari materiali che contiene, (fatture, certificati ecc.,) sono stati raccolti man mano che si accumulavano seguendo l'ordine cronologico.

² Cfr. A. Luchitta, *La Contea di Gorizia: contributo per una storia della manifattura e dell'industria (secoli XVIII-XX)*, in AA.VV., *Cultura tedesca nel Goriziano, atti del seminario*, Gorizia 1995, 276-277.

zona del Collio (all'epoca ovviamente non c'era distinzione tra Collio Sloveno e Italiano), la valle del Vipacco, quella dell'Isonzo e il Carso. Il momento era delicato in quanto, per tutta la seconda metà dell'800, la Contea di Gorizia venne flagellata da una serie di malattie della vite (peronospora e filossera in particolare) che compromisero la produzione vinicola della zona.³ Prima di queste calamità naturali, la produzione della vite non era comunque organizzata con tecniche e criteri moderni, capaci di aumentarne la produttività e la qualità del prodotto (la produzione di vino nella Contea era sempre stata in funzione del mercato locale e non aveva mai puntato sulla qualità del prodotto);⁴ le malattie crearono però danni tali da mettere in crisi anche quel poco che la Contea era in grado di produrre. La distruzione della produzione vitivinicola, se danneggiò l'agricoltura della Contea facendo tabula rasa della situazione precedente, diventò paradossalmente un'occasione per ricostruire il patrimonio vitivinicolo goriziano su basi finalmente moderne e che puntassero sulla qualità del prodotto e rispondessero alla domanda del mercato.

In questo contesto si inseriva, nel 1880, l'opera del Conte de la Tour⁵ che, insieme all'onnipotente – quando si trattava di possibilità di sviluppo della Contea – famiglia di industriali Ritter, introdusse nella zona alcuni vitigni provenienti dalla Francia: Pinot Grigio, Pinot Bianco, Sauvignon, Cabernet Franc, Merlot, Riesling e Sylvaner, che andarono a sommarsi alle varietà autoctone più coltivate come Ribolla Gialla e Verde, Glera, Pagadebiti, Garganega, Pergola, Spica, Meina, Slancamenca, Zelen, Craglierina, Clamamea.

Tutto ciò fece sì che, finalmente, la Contea di Gorizia diventasse un importante produttore di vino nell'economia dell'Impero, aumentando sia la quantità che, soprattutto, il ventaglio delle proposte da offrire; la produzione passò dai 108.000 ettolitri del 1852 ai 548.940 del 1913.⁶

Quindi l'opera di ricostruzione e ammodernamento della produzione vinicola nella Contea di Gorizia ai primi del '900 era ben avviata e, se non ci fosse stata la Grande Guerra, Gorizia e il suo territorio avrebbero finalmente trovato un ruolo e una funzione all'interno dell'Impero; quel ruolo che già il Czoernig⁷ nel 1876 aveva intuito. Inoltre questo processo contribuì alla trasformazione di Gorizia in una città commerciale.

Tutto ciò voleva dire anche che, se c'era un settore economico sul quale conveniva puntare nella Gorizia tra '800 e '900, questo era la produzione e il commercio del vino.

In tale contesto nacque la ditta. And. Abuja.

³ F. Bianco, "L'armonia sociale nelle campagne," *Economia agricola e questione colonica nella Principesca Contea di Gorizia e Gradisca tra '800 e '900*, in AA.VV., *Economia e Società nel Goriziano tra '800 e '900*, Monfalcone 1991, 33.

⁴ Bianco, "L'armonia sociale nelle campagne," 33-34.

⁵ A. Pecorari, *La viti-vinocoltura nel Friuli orientale fra '800 e '900*. Tesi di laurea presso l'università degli Studi di Trieste, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, relatore Prof. G. Bertuzzi.

⁶ Cfr. E. Massi, *L'ambiente Geografico e lo Sviluppo Economico nel Goriziano*, Gorizia 1933.

⁷ C. von Czoernig *Il territorio di Gorizia e Gradisca*, vol. 1, edizione a cura della Cassa di Risparmio di Gorizia, Gorizia 1987, (Edizione originale, Vienna 1873).

1) La nascita della ditta "And. Abuja"

La ditta Abuja non era propriamente un'impresa; Andrea Abuja, il fondatore della ditta "And. Abuja" non era come Ettore Ritter, il fondatore delle industrie Ritter.⁸ L'obiettivo di Abuja non era la produzione di un determinato prodotto. La ditta Abuja si presentava come ditta di intermediazione tra i produttori di vino della Contea di Gorizia e il mercato costituito dalle altre regioni che componevano l'Impero Austro-Ungarico.

Andrea Abuja approfittò di quella serie di innovazioni⁹ che ebbero luogo nella Contea di Gorizia, coinvolgenti in particolare la città di Gorizia, che sono state descritte nel precedente paragrafo.

La prima innovazione era stata realizzata consapevolmente dalle classi dirigenti del capoluogo: era la modernizzazione dell'agricoltura e l'adeguamento di questa alla domanda del mercato. In particolare, l'Impero chiedeva al Litorale quei prodotti che la mitezza del suo clima mediterraneo favoriva.

La seconda innovazione era invece una conseguenza di una serie di circostanze che avevano determinato l'ascesa economica della comunità slovena a Gorizia. Gorizia vide l'affermarsi di una nuova borghesia, slovena, che nella sua corsa ai vertici dell'economia e della politica della città creava nel capoluogo un movimento di capitali e persone che tendevano a trasformare la città in quel polo commerciale tanto agognato dalle sue classi dirigenti.

Infatti, mentre nella zona occidentale della Contea, abitata in prevalenza da italiani, le proprietà dei grandi latifondisti continuarono ad occupare tutto lo spazio coltivabile rendendo poco e venendo gestite con metodi antiquati ed inoltre, nonostante le raccomandazioni dei Ritter, si continuò a utilizzare il contratto colonico,¹⁰ nella zona orientale,¹¹ abitata prevalentemente da sloveni, invece, si diffuse la piccola proprietà che permise ai contadini di autogestirsi, di organizzare il proprio tempo in maniera da avere degli spazi di libertà dal lavoro agricolo per potersi dedicare al piccolo commercio o al piccolo artigianato; inoltre poterono decidere quali prodotti coltivare e come, adeguandosi alla domanda del mercato.

Questa situazione di maggior benessere facilitò, nella componente slovena, la capacità di organizzarsi per difendere i propri interessi e per trovare nuovi sbocchi ai propri prodotti nell'area dell'Impero Austro-Ungarico. Per far ciò non bastava però avere una situazione agricola produttiva e dinamica, ma occorreva che venisse costituita una realtà finanziaria amica che facesse ai contadini, e a coloro che dovevano commerciare i loro prodotti, prestiti al momento giusto e all'inte-

⁸ L. Fabi, *Storia di Gorizia*, Padova, 1991.

⁹ Il termine "innovazione" lo si intende nell'accezione che gli dà J. A. Schumpeter in relazione allo sviluppo delle imprese, paragonando Gorizia e il territorio circostante ad un'impresa che attua delle innovazioni per non soccombere; J. Schumpeter, "L'innovazione e l'imprenditore," in J. Schumpeter, *Una introduzione alla storia d'impresa* a cura di P.A. Toninelli e F. Amatori, Milano 1999, 59-78.

¹⁰ Bianco, "L'armonia sociale nelle campagne," 51-59.

¹¹ Le considerazioni di seguito esposte sono tratte dallo studio di M. Waltritsch, *Gli istituti di credito sloveni nel Goriziano*, Gorizia 1982, 325-330.

resse giusto. Insomma, si doveva creare una struttura bancaria che ebbe come principale conseguenza la creazione di una borghesia.

Il primo istituto di credito, la Goriska Ljudska Posojilnica, al servizio della nuova realtà agricola e commerciale slovena venne aperto a Gorizia nel 1880; a questo, nel corso degli anni, si affiancarono altri istituti di credito che rispondevano alle varie esigenze della sempre più forte e dinamica borghesia slovena.

Per avere un'idea dell'influenza che la comunità slovena esercitò sulla città di Gorizia agli inizi del XX secolo, molteplici sono gli esempi a nostra disposizione: la costruzione del Trgovski Dom nel centralissimo corso Francesco Giuseppe, la costruzione di scuole slovene, l'acquisto di prestigiosi edifici cittadini e di grandi alberghi, l'aumento considerevole di negozi tenuti da sloveni che ebbero il coraggio di fissare le proprie insegne nella lingua madre, il successo del boicottaggio delle merci italiane che mise in ginocchio il piccolo commercio italiano, la diffusione della lingua slovena in città, lo sviluppo della borghesia commerciale slovena che commerciava i prodotti dei contadini sloveni in tutto l'Impero; infine, erano sloveni anche i vertici della Cassa di Risparmio di Gorizia, allora il maggior istituto di credito della città.

Tale quadro estremamente positivo creava un contrasto impressionante sia se confrontato con lo stato dei contadini italiani che si dibattevano nella miseria più nera, schiacciati dal contratto colonico, sia con la situazione della borghesia italiana che, legata allo sviluppo industriale di metà "800 che già negli anni" 70 aveva esaurito tutte le sue potenzialità, non riusciva più a tenere in mano l'economia della città.

Mihael Vosnjak, il padre delle casse di prestiti slovene in Carniola, e che stimolò con la sua azione anche l'apertura di quelle nella Contea di Gorizia, si trasferì per un certo periodo in Stiria e in Carinzia per propagandare tra gli sloveni lì residenti le possibilità che le città di Gorizia e Trieste offrivano sia per gli investimenti commerciali sia come luoghi dove, con la pratica, poter acquisire una cultura commerciale, aziendale, amministrativa che né la Stiria né la Carinzia, in quanto dominate dalla borghesia tedesca, né la Carniola, perché troppo povera, potevano offrire. Questa testimonianza è più che sufficiente per capire non solo quanto Gorizia fosse in pieno sviluppo subito prima della I guerra Mondiale, ma anche quanto questo sviluppo fosse legato alle fortune della borghesia slovena.

Quindi Andrea Abuja seguì il flusso costituito da quegli sloveni residenti in Stiria e Carinzia che decisero di trasferirsi a Gorizia e Trieste perché seguirono i consigli di Mihael Vosnjak¹² che vedeva nelle due città delle ottime occasioni di investimento.

Secondo la testimonianza dei discendenti, la Ditta venne fondata nel 1899; il primo documento ufficiale¹³ è invece una licenza emessa dal comune di Gorizia del 1902, nel quale si attestava la nascita della ditta "And. Abuja" con sede a Gorizia in via Ponte Isonzo. Pochi anni dopo, intorno al 1906, la Ditta si trasferiva in via S. Antonio con deposito in Via della Croce, di fronte alla scuola slovena appe-

¹² Waltritsch, *Gli istituti di credito sloveni*, Gorizia 1982, 325-330.

¹³ I dati qui di seguito esposti sono forniti da AFA.

na edificata. La corretta denominazione della Ditta si ha grazie alle "Guide commerciali"; purtroppo non ne abbiamo trovate di precedenti al 1912. In questa, che per la precisione si chiama "Guida Commerciale delle Province Adriatiche Orientali,"¹⁴ troviamo, sotto la voce "vini (depositi)": „Abuja Andrea via S. Antonio 4" insieme ad altri 23 depositi. Inoltre, dalla medesima ricaviamo che nel 1912 la sede della Ditta era stata spostata da una zona relativamente periferica della città, via Ponte Isonzo, ad una molto più centrale sita nelle immediate vicinanze di palazzo Attems. Il motivo è facilmente intuibile: la nuova sede si trovava in prossimità della nuova ferrovia di Gorizia, la Transalpina.

L'attività della Ditta di Andrea Abuja è abbastanza chiara anche perché è confermata dalle fatture e dalle lettere commerciali dell'epoca: la Ditta raccoglieva il vino dai contadini sparsi sulle colline del Collio, la valle del Vipacco, il Carso; produceva in proprio quei prodotti alcolici che non avevano bisogno del lavoro della terra come acquaviti e spiriti (per queste infatti bastano alcool ed essenze) e quei vini di minor pregio, definiti da tavola, prendendo il mosto dai contadini; poi sistemava tutto nelle botti e, tramite la ferrovia, spediva la merce ai clienti che si trovavano lungo la linea ferroviaria da Gorizia fino a Monaco e Praga.

2) *Strategia e struttura della ditta "And. Abuja"*

L'importanza della ferrovia Transalpina per la ditta "And. Abuja"

La ferrovia Transalpina ebbe un ruolo fondamentale per Gorizia.

Le classi dirigenti della città fecero il possibile perché questa venisse realizzata quanto prima; infatti la vedevano come condizione necessaria e sufficiente per trasformare la città in un polo commerciale.¹⁵ Se per la prima ferrovia di Gorizia, inaugurata nel 1860, voluta con forza da Ettore Ritter, c'erano state delle perplessità, legate alla paura della concorrenza che si sarebbe venuta a creare con i prodotti di altre regioni dell'Impero, per la seconda ferrovia erano tutti d'accordo perché l'agricoltura si era ormai adeguata al mercato e quindi aveva bisogno di un potenziamento delle vie di comunicazione. Inoltre, la ferrovia Transalpina faceva sì che Gorizia si trovasse al centro delle vie di comunicazione che collegavano Trieste con la Cisletania a tutto vantaggio del progetto di Gorizia come polo commerciale. Quindi, dopo alterne vicende, nel 1906 finalmente venne inaugurata la nuova Stazione.

Le ditte che operavano in città capirono subito le potenzialità legate alla nuova ferrovia e quelle che potevano si trasferirono nelle zone vicine a questa; infatti troviamo molte ditte commerciali nella zona di piazza Corno (oggi de Amicis) e nelle vie circostanti. Come abbiamo visto, la ditta Abuja era una di queste.

Il mercato stesso della ditta era in un certo senso determinato dalla ferrovia; infatti i clienti degli Abuja erano distribuiti lungo il percorso ferroviario, mentre le rare eccezioni erano tutte rappresentate da clienti o della città stessa o da abi-

¹⁴ La guida commerciale citata è stata fornita da AFA; comunque, copie di essa sono reperibili anche nella Biblioteca Civica di Gorizia.

¹⁵ A. Luchitta, "Cronache ferroviarie e vita goriziana nel primo decennio del sec. XX," in AA.VV., *Transalpina un binario per tre popoli*, Monfalcone 1996, 128-146.

tanti dei dintorni. Un'analisi delle fatture¹⁶ della ditta, conservate nell'archivio della famiglia Abuja, dimostra quanto detto.

Coprendo un arco di tempo che va dal 1910 fino al 1992, ci descrivono minuziosamente, paese per paese, da Pola fino a Monaco, quali fossero i clienti e la loro professione. Per il periodo qui analizzato, le fatture più rappresentative sono quelle che vanno dal '12 al '14, cioè l'apogeo dell'attività della ditta sotto l'Impero Asburgico. Nell'archivio sono state conservate sia le fatture d'acquisto che quelle di vendita. I principali fornitori si trovavano in Istria (fatture d'acquisto inviate a Rovigno e Visinada, presso la Cantina Vini Istriani), nella valle del Vipacco e sul Collio. Come clienti, la maggioranza erano tedeschi e sloveni. Le regioni raggiunte dalla ditta erano, oltre ovviamente alla stessa città di Gorizia, la valle dell'Isonzo, la zona dei laghi di Bohinj e Bled fino a Jesenice, quindi la Carinzia, la Stiria e poi Vienna, seguendo la tratta ferroviaria Villaco - Vienna. Continuando verso nord, si trovano clienti fino in Boemia, a Praga, ma i contatti qui erano ancora sporadici.

Ovviamente da Villaco, oltre alla linea Villaco - Vienna, partiva anche quella Villaco - Salisburgo, e quindi i prodotti Abuja seguivano anche questo percorso. Da Salisburgo a Monaco il passo era breve, ed infatti troviamo clienti anche in questa città. Quindi Monaco e Praga rappresentavano i limiti massimi di espansione nel 1914, anche se con queste due ultime città i contatti rimanevano ancora in una fase embrionale. Probabilmente l'obiettivo di Andrea Abuja era quello di rinforzare e approfondire l'espansione verso nord, ma tutti questi progetti vennero accantonati allo scoppio del conflitto mondiale.

Un caso particolare è rappresentato dalla valle dell'Isonzo a Nord di Tolmino. Infatti la Transalpina, arrivata a Tolmino, devia verso la zona di Bohinj lasciando scoperta tutta la zona che va da Tolmino a Plezzo (Bovec). Però a Volzana (Volece), la ditta Abuja possedeva una locanda.¹⁷ Secondo noi, è ipotizzabile che la ditta usasse la locanda come deposito provvisorio per raggiungere tutti quei potenziali clienti che si trovavano in questa zona non raggiunta dalla ferrovia.¹⁸

I fornitori¹⁹

Come abbiamo visto, il mercato d'acquisto della ditta Abuja comprendeva l'Istria (Rovigno e Visinada) e, nella Contea di Gorizia, il Carso, la Valle del Vipacco e il Collio. Specchio di questo mercato sono i vini che questa proponeva ai suoi clienti:

- Vino bianco istriano
 - Vino bianco Wippacher
 - Vino nero Terrano
 - Cabernet invecchiato 3 anni in bottiglia
 - Vino goriziano
- infine, prodotto dalla ditta stessa, Slivoviz al 48%

¹⁶ Le fatture sono conservate in AFA.

¹⁷ Archivio della Camera di Commercio, certificato che attesta l'esistenza di una locanda a Volzana prima della Grande Guerra, Busta Abuja, sezione Certificati.

¹⁸ Infatti, le fatture di vendita confermano l'esistenza di clienti in queste zone.

¹⁹ I dati di questo paragrafo si basano sulle fatture 1912-1914 raccolte in AFA.

Essendo i luoghi dai quali provenivano i fornitori abitati principalmente da sloveni, sloveni erano i fornitori della ditta.

Operando questi in Istria, nella Valle del Vipacco e nel Collio, risultava evidente come Gorizia fosse il punto migliore dove aprire la sede di una ditta che si poneva come obiettivo quello di commercializzare il vino di queste zone nell'Impero. Infatti, la città si trova dove Collio e valle del Vipacco si incontrano, permettendo agli Abuja di essere sempre vicini ai fornitori. Inoltre, le ferrovie Meridionale e Transalpina facilitavano i collegamenti della ditta con i fornitori dell'Istria, la prima; con il mercato che la ditta aveva deciso di conquistare, la seconda; non bisogna dimenticare, poi, che Gorizia stessa e i suoi dintorni erano loro stessi uno sbocco per questo mercato.

Abbiamo visto dove erano distribuiti i fornitori della ditta Abuja, ma è più difficile sapere come Andrea Abuja fosse riuscito a tessere i suoi contatti con questi, in quanto le fatture ci dicono chi erano i fornitori e chi erano i clienti, ma non quale fosse stato il processo che aveva portato la ditta a conquistarseli. L'unico dato oggettivo che l'archivio della famiglia ci dà, e forse può essere una possibile risposta a questa domanda, sono l'identità delle mogli dei due figli di Andrea, Antonio e Andrea II Abuja, rispettivamente Maria Sardoc e Felicita Kocman.²⁰ La prima era originaria di Sales (TS), la seconda di Duino-Aurisina (TS): entrambe le località si trovano in prossimità del Carso, e quindi in una zona del mercato d'acquisto della ditta.

Considerare nelle strategie economiche della ditta anche la politica matrimoniale non mi sembra azzardato, visto che è sempre stata una pratica costante nelle politiche di imprenditori e commercianti.

Ovviamente la ditta non si doveva rifornire solo del vino che commerciava, ma doveva procurarsi anche le varie attrezzature indispensabili per la sua attività.

I mobili dell'ufficio, la cassaforte, le botti nelle quali immagazzinare il vino per poi spedirlo via ferrovia, ecc., sono tutte cose che ci permettono di capire dove la ditta preferiva rifornirsi e perché. Tutti i materiali sopra elencati erano infatti prodotti in Austria e a Vienna in particolare. Evidentemente Andrea Abuja trovava l'Austria più economica di Trieste o Gorizia per rifornirsi di questa attrezzatura, oppure aveva più dimestichezza con le ditte austriache che con quelle locali, essendo originario di Graz.

I clienti²¹

Il mercato della ditta And. Abuja, come abbiamo visto, era distribuito lungo la ferrovia Transalpina, e poi lungo le ferrovie dell'Austria. Si può dire, quindi, che il suo mercato fosse modellato dalle ferrovie, in quanto all'epoca la ferrovia era il mezzo di comunicazione per eccellenza, e questa aveva modellato i mercati in tutto il mondo accorciando le distanze tra regione e regione.

Non bisogna dimenticare però che Andrea Abuja era originario di Graz e che sicuramente presso i propri fornitori avrà fatto valere le sue conoscenze del mer-

²⁰ Informazioni tratte da AFA.

²¹ Anche qui ci basiamo sulle fatture dal 1912 al 1914 raccolte in AFA.

cato austriaco per convincerli che lui e la sua ditta erano i migliori intermediari tra la Contea di Gorizia e l'Austria. Infatti, è strano che non risultino clienti a Trieste e in Istria. Queste zone gli dovevano essere note, visto che l'Istria e il Carso erano zone d'acquisto di vino per la ditta. Questa assenza in queste zone è spiegabile con il fatto che evidentemente la ditta And. Abuja si era specializzata nel mercato tedesco.

Le fatture ci dicono che la maggior parte dei clienti erano sloveni, seguiti subito dai tedeschi; gli unici clienti italiani erano quelli che si trovavano a Gorizia o nei dintorni, e comunque erano una esigua minoranza. Dicendo che la maggior parte dei clienti erano sloveni, bisogna tener conto che questi non erano necessariamente quelli che vivevano nella Contea di Gorizia o in Carniola, ma bensì anche quelli che vivevano in Carinzia e Stiria.

Infatti troviamo fatture emesse dalla ditta scritte in Tedesco o Sloveno per cittadini austriaci con cognome sloveno.

Per quanto riguarda le fatture spedite a clienti tedeschi, sloveni e italiani, sono scritte nelle rispettive lingue.

Questo plurilinguismo, che nell'Impero asburgico era diffuso a tutti i livelli ed era dato per scontato dai suoi abitanti, si rispecchia anche nel nome della ditta Abuja. Infatti And. Abuja sta' per Andrej, Andreas e Andrea. Visto che sarebbe stato impegnativo dover ogni volta cambiar nome a seconda dei clienti con i quali si aveva a che fare, Andrea Abuja pensò bene di risolvere la questione mettendo nell'intestazione della ditta solo le prime tre lettere del proprio nome, comuni nelle tre lingue parlate nelle zone interessate dalla sua attività.

Un bell'esempio di pragmatismo, molto attuale nei nostri tempi.

Anche per sapere che tipo di clientela si riforniva dei prodotti Abuja le fatture sono la fonte più importante.

Da quelle analizzate, che coprono l'arco di tempo che va dal 1912 al 1914, notiamo che non c'era una gran varietà di clienti. La stragrande maggioranza, da Gorizia fino a Monaco e Praga, erano proprietari di alberghi, locande e osterie, il resto privati che compravano vino per uso personale.

3) Conclusioni

Volendo evidenziare i caratteri più importanti della ditta And. Abuja nel periodo analizzato in questa sede, si possono trarre le seguenti conclusioni.

1) Il fondatore della Ditta Abuja si trasferisce da Graz a Gorizia perché, approfittando della congiuntura favorevole che attraversa la città, è convinto di poter far valere le sue conoscenze del mondo d'oltralpe venendo incontro alle esigenze dei produttori locali.

2) La ditta Abuja è a carattere familiare, in quanto viene gestita unicamente da Andrea Abuja e dai figli.

3) La ditta Abuja risponde alle esigenze dei produttori agricoli di origine slovena, legandosi così alle sorti della borghesia slovena. Conferma di questo legame è, come risulta nei bilanci che vanno dal 1911 al 1914, la scelta che gli Abuja

fanno di affidarsi, dal punto di vista finanziario, alla *Ljublianska kreditna banka*.²² Questa era stata costituita nel 1900 a Lubiana,²³ grazie al supporto del capitale boemo, con prete finalit  capitalistiche, facendo gli interessi delle borghesie cittadine, a differenza della maggior parte degli allora esistenti istituti di credito sloveni costituiti su base cooperativistica per motivi di solidariet , perch  legati agli interessi del mondo contadino.

4) La ditta Abuja, per la natura stessa della sua attivit ,   profondamente legata allo sviluppo di Gorizia e del suo territorio. Infatti man mano che la struttura economica della Contea si modernizza (ferrovia Transalpina, progresso agricolo, sviluppo della borghesia slovena ecc.), la ditta Abuja aumenta il suo trend di crescita. Questo vuol dire che le sorti della ditta sono legate a quelle di Gorizia; questa considerazione, che potrebbe essere considerata banale se applicata ad una ditta che si sviluppa in una citt  e in un territorio che non subiscono sconvolgimenti tali da alterarne la loro struttura, non lo   riguardo alla ditta qui studiata. Infatti, nel 1914, Gorizia e la sua Contea, che sembravano aver trovato finalmente il proprio ruolo nell'Impero, vedono tutti gli assi portanti della loro economia scomparire insieme a quell'Impero nel quale erano vissute ininterrottamente per settecento anni.

²² Dato rilevato dai bilanci della ditta Abuja conservati in AFA.

²³ Le informazioni sulla *Ljublianska kreditna banka*, sono tratte da Waltritsch, *Gli istituti di credito sloveni*, 361.

The Identity of the National Minorities in Slovakia during 1918–1989 within the Context of the State Policy

MARTIN PEKÁR



Significant role in forming the identity of national and ethnic minorities is played by the living conditions provided by the country in which these minorities live. The following contribution outlines the possible ways of developing the ethnic national consciousness and identity on the territory of Slovakia during the twentieth century from the perspective of the selected elements of the state policy. It focuses on national minorities in relation to such aspects of the state policy as the governmental structure of the country, legislative regulation of the minority rights, institutional protection of minorities, language and education policy and the status of minorities in the media.

From the disintegration of Austria-Hungary in 1918 up to the year 1989 several political systems, most of them non-democratic and totalitarian, were in operation, which was affected by the external factors and unfavourable geopolitical environment.¹ Those political systems were linked to the already non-existent state of Czechoslovakia (in existence during the years 1918–1939 and 1945–1989), which arose as one of the Habsburg successor states, and to the independent Slovak Republic during the years 1939–1945.

As a consequence of the circumstances leading to the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 and the border settings of the country, the issue concerning minorities, their position within the society and the relationship between minorities and the state-forming majority became a very touchy subject. On the one side, it was inevitable to fulfil the international legal commitments concerning minorities, as these resulted from the settling of the conditions in Europe after World War I. On the other side, there was a new state coming into existence, confronted with the presence, but for the most part, with the discontent of sizeable minorities.

National minorities became, as to their number, the significant element of the forming society. Their proportion and settlement were the result of the centuries-

¹ L. Lipták, "Vonkajšie a vnútorné faktory formovania politických systémov na Slovensku," [External and Internal Factors of the Formation of the Political Systems in Slovakia] in *Od diktatúry k diktatúre*. ed. M. Barnovský, Bratislava 1995, 8–14.

long historical development. This long-term steady development, mainly associated with the existence of the Habsburg monarchy, was disrupted by the outcomes of the negotiations of the world powers at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I, next by World War II and also by the changes of the political systems on the territory of Slovakia in the twentieth century. Such dramatic situation, marked by so many changes, was reflected in the way the minority issue was covered in the Slovak historical literature. The chronology of certain problematic issues can hardly be traced, since these were perceived from different angles as the periods changed. Speaking of the results of the censuses, which were moreover carried out on different methodical bases, the figures are incompatible as a result of, for instance, the standpoint of the ruling regime to the respective ethnic minority, frequent changes in the territorial division and the modifications of the country borderlines.

An array of national minorities has lived and is still living on the territory of the Slovak Republic. Not each of them was attached the same importance in the twentieth century. Taking into consideration socio-political, economic and cultural viewpoints, as well as their influence on the present day, the main positions were held by the Hungarian, German, Jewish, Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Gypsy national minorities.

The sizeable Hungarian minority emerged after the state borderline between the Czechoslovak Republic and Hungary, as the two successor states after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, had been established. According to the first post-war census in 1921, Hungarians comprised more than 21% of all inhabitants in Slovakia. The members of the Hungarian minority occupied the compact area along the southern state border, where in some districts they constituted the majority with more than 80% of inhabitants (e.g., Dunajská Streda/Dunaszerdahely, Komárno/Komárom). The modification of the borders under Vienna Award, not in favour of Slovakia, led to the decrease in the number of Hungarians. In the second half of the twentieth century, after the exchange of Slovaks in Hungary for Hungarians in Slovakia, their number fell to approximately 10-12%.

German minority in Slovakia (Carpathian Germans) represented the remnants of the older medieval settlement. As opposed to the Sudeten Germans living in the Czech part of the country, Germans in Slovakia did not occupy the compact area. More than a half of them were concentrated on three "language islands" - the surroundings of Bratislava, the territory of Spiš/Szepes and that of Kremnica/Körmöcbánya and Nitrianske Pravno/Németpróna. The rest of the minority members were scattered around in the Slovak towns (Prešov/Eperjes, Banská Bystrica/Beszercebánya, Nitra/Nyitra, etc.). On the whole, they constituted no more than 5% of the overall amount of the inhabitants in Slovakia. Even in the districts with high concentration they represented 30% of the population at the most (the town of Bratislava/Pozsony, Kremnica, Gelnica/Gölnicbánya, Kežmarok/Késmárk). Traditionally, some of the Jews claimed German nationality, too. During the inter-war period the number of German minority was decreasing. The period between 1939 and 1945 brought about the rise not only in the number of the minority population, but also mainly in the socio-political influence of the

minority. As a result of the post-World War II situation, German minority in Slovakia almost ceased to exist.

Jews in Slovakia were perceived as an ethnic group only in the inter-war period when their presence added the colour to the atmosphere of the towns and the little towns where they were clustered. According to the statistics of the nationalities of the present population from 1921, 74 thousand Jews lived scattered around Slovakia (2,5% of the population). Taking into consideration specific relation between the concept of Jewish nationality and the concept of the Jewish confession, the real number of Jews could have been even twice as large as stated (mostly at the expense of the Hungarian minority). The biggest Jewish communities lived in Bratislava, Košice/Kassa and Michalovce/Nagymihály. Despite their pro-Hungarian orientation after the disintegration of the monarchy, Jews maintained their positions in public and economic life, which resulted in the latent anti-Semitic attitude of the Slovak majority. Therefore, the Jewish racial legislation in the Slovak State and the deportations linked with the genocide were not accompanied by any violent public protests. Emigration of Jews immediately after World War II left traces on their community. Under the Communist regime, Jews were perceived as a religious group.

Ruthenian-Ukrainian minority inhabited the compact area of north eastern Slovakia, which at present day borders on Poland and Ukraine. These mostly poor inhabitants with a very low sense of national consciousness comprised 3% of the population in Slovakia after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. Some areas were, however, constituted by more than 70% of Ruthenians-Ukrainians (district of Michalovce, Vyšný Svidník/Felsőszvidnik). After World War II the part of the minority moved to the Soviet Union and the rest were forced to adopt Ukrainian orientation. Expressed in percentage, the minority representation fell approximately to 1%.

Specific ethnic group living in Slovakia was represented by Romanies (Gypsies). Some of them performed traditional nomadic way of life, which was receding mainly due to the intolerance of the rest of the population. Majority of Gypsies lived scattered around Slovakia (most of all in the eastern part) and for the most part they practised crafts to earn their living. Merely a fraction of them reached the average living standards and education, which affected their ethnic identity. The number of Romanies in Slovakia can be only estimated - in the late 1920s it was 62 thousand, in the late 1940s the figure raised to 100 thousand and in the late 1970s to 179 thousand Gypsy inhabitants.²

Czechs held special position within the ethnic structure of the Slovak Republic. Following the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, Czechs were arriving to Slovakia to fill jobs in administration, education, army, and other posts which lacked the qualified domestic labour force. This process was in accord with the state policy and the ideology of the "czechoslovakism". Owing to primarily their social status, Czechs became an important element in Slovakia although they

² *Encyklopédia Slovenska, I. A-D*. [Encyclopedia of Slovakia, I. A-D] Bratislava 1977, 320-322.

comprised only approximately 3% of the population. After the autonomy had been proclaimed in 1938 and the independent Slovak State had been established in 1939, the majority of Czechs left the country. In the post-World War II period, the number of Czechs in Slovakia was approximately 1%. Concerning the linguistic and ethnical similarity and the existence of the common state, the Slovak majority did not regard Czechs as the distinctively strange element.

Chart 1.

Selected figures concerning the structure of the national minorities on the territory of Slovakia during 1918–1989³

Year	The nationality of the present population				
	Slovaks	Hungarians	Germans	Ruthenians-Ukrainians	Jews
1921	1 952 668	650 597	145 844	88 970	73 628
	65,10 %	21,70 %	4,90 %	3,00 %	2,45 %
1930	2 337 816	592 337	154 821	95 359	72 678
	70,40 %	17,79 %	4,65 %	2,86 %	2,18 %
1940	2 254 394	53 128	136 297	64 308	87 314
	84,89 %	2,00 %	5,10 %	2,42 %	3,29 %
1950	2 982 524	354 532	5 179	48 231	-
	86,60 %	10,30 %	0,10 %	1,40 %	
1961	3 560 241	518 776	6 266	35 411	-
	85,30 %	12,40 %	0,20 %	0,80 %	
1970	3 884 193	553 910	5 326	42 146	-
	85,50 %	12,20 %	0,10 %	0,90 %	
1980	4 317 008	559 490	2 918	39 260	-
	86,50 %	11,20 %	0,10 %	0,80 %	

National and ethnic minorities constituted the essential part of the relationships that were built and operating on the basis of whichever of the constitutional and political systems on the territory of Slovakia. Legislative regulations regard-

³ Based on the source: *Slovensko v Československu (1918–1939)* [Slovakia within Czechoslovakia (1918–1939)] eds. M. Zemko, V. Bystrický, Bratislava 2004, 491–544. P. Podolák, *Národnostné menšiny v Slovenskej republike z hľadiska demografického vývoja*. [National Minorities in the Slovak Republic from the Viewpoint of the Demographic Development] Martin 1998, 12.

ing their positions and rights corresponded to the socio-political and international political context of the time.⁴

The first fundamental law passed after the establishment of Czechoslovakia, on 29 February 1920, was the Constitutional Act No. 121/1920, officially called the Constitution of 1920. According to this constitution, Czechoslovakia was conceived as a democratic republic with the unitary and indivisible area. Autonomous Subcarpathian Ruthenia held specific position. According to the constitution, this part was to be granted full autonomy. However, the provision for Ruthenian autonomy was, for the political reasons, implemented not until 1938. With regard to the historical development of Czechoslovakia and its national composition, the constitution spoke of the citizens rather than nations. Speaking of the state-forming nations of Czechs and Slovaks, the ideology of the political czechoslovakism was adopted in effort to ensure their dominant position within the state. According to this ideology, Czechs and Slovaks constituted one nation. This led, to a significant extent, to the growing destabilization of the political situation in the country during the inter-war period. The culmination of the situation and the actual breakdown of the parliamentary democracy occurred after the Munich Agreement. In October 1938, the autonomy of Slovakia was proclaimed and for the first time in the history, the Slovak autonomous government was appointed (few days later, the autonomy of Subcarpathian Ruthenia was implemented). However, the period of federalization in pre-war Czecho-Slovakia lasted only a few months. In March 1939, the independent Slovak State was declared under the pressure of Nazi Germany and the Czech lands became occupied by the German army.

In spite of the real threats, the constitution and its practice during the First Czechoslovak Republic granted the minorities liberal environment in which they could live their national lives up to standard. However, the legislative regulations stated clearly that it was in the state's interest to prefer the civic principle and the policy of centralization, which should have prevented the menace of the autonomist actions.⁵ The respective provisions of the Constitution of 1920 followed in the tradition arising from the rule of law of Austria-Hungary. The regulation that surpassed the international standards of that period was codified. Protection of the national, religious and racial minorities was included in the sixth chapter. The constitution guaranteed the equality before the law and prohibited any form of the denationalisation. Due to the character of the political system of the First

⁴ For further details see: L. Orosz, "Ústavná úprava práv osôb patriacich k národnostným menšinám a etnickým skupinám v Slovenskej republike a jej komparatívna analýza," [The Constitutional Regulation Concerning the Rights of Members of the National Minorities and Ethnic Groups in the Slovak Republic and its Comparative Analysis] in *Národ a národnosti : Stav výskumu po roku 1989 a jeho perspektívy*, ed. Š. Šutaj, Prešov 2004, 44–55.

⁵ Still, the Slovak part of the republic was confronted with one significant autonomist movement. It did not refer to any particular minority, it concerned the Slovaks themselves. Some members of their political representation never accepted the idea of czechoslovakism and by legal means struggled for the Slovak autonomy.

Czechoslovakia and its approach to the national minorities, the most important apparatus for the control of the state policy and the enforcement of the minority interests was the parliamentary representation (parliament). During the First Czechoslovak Republic, the well-developed party system comprising the parties of the whole political spectrum was in operation. Members of the minorities became the representatives of various political parties of the state wide character, or they formed their own parties. Owing to their sizeable representation and the number of the candidates in elections, the minority representatives regularly won the seats in the Prague's Parliament. Still, the minority parties had much more real influence on the regional and local level, mostly in the regions with the dominant minority representation.

The issue of the minority languages and the minority education was closely linked to the status of the national minorities and their possibility to forge their national identity. In the past, several languages had been used for different language functions in Slovakia. Apart from the Slovak language, the most significant were the German and the Hungarian languages, the latter being the official language until 1918. The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic brought about the essential change in this sphere, too. In 1920, the law, based on the idea of the czechoslovakism, thus declaring the official language to be the non-existent Czechoslovak language, came into effect. Under this law, the Slovak language was largely used in Slovakia. The minority members were allowed to use their minority language in dealings with authorities only if they constituted 20% of the population in the respective district. The legislative of the given period created relatively favourable conditions for the minorities to use their mother tongue at schools and in the cultural life. After the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the school policy concerning the minorities became the part of the wider complex of the issues regarded as the minority cultural policy. The implementation of this policy led to the development of the school system of the national minorities, which resulted in the increase of the number of the minority schools during the inter-war period.

Publishing of the periodicals in different languages had a long tradition in Slovakia. This was related to the multi-ethnic character of Austria-Hungary, and also Slovakia. Legislation and the cultural policy of the Czechoslovak Republic after 1918 made it possible to maintain relatively favourable conditions for the existence of the minority press. Speaking of the Hungarian minority, logically, the number of titles considerably decreased. Despite this fact, an array of the periodicals of the political parties, economic and culturo-educational magazines, and number of the local periodicals were published, reaching the whole minority. The situation was slightly different in case of the German minority. With respect to the scattered settlement, basically all the periodicals of all types had the regional character. The periodicals of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian minority virtually did not exist before 1918. Even in the inter-war period, their number was rather small and the quality was low. They were published mostly on the initiative and with the support of the Prešov Greek-Catholic diocese in the Russian language or the

Ruthenian dialect. The Jewish minority issued their periodicals in various languages according to their socio-political orientation.

During the period between the wars, the radio broadcast, with the scope for the national minorities, was started. The first was the Hungarian broadcasting transmitted from Košice in 1928, and after a short time from Bratislava. The broadcasting was predominantly culturo-educational. Significant role was played by the propaganda aimed at the elimination of the influence of the Hungarian propaganda in Slovakia. Regular broadcasting for Ruthenians-Ukrainians started in 1934.

Changes on the political map of Central Europe on the turn of the years 1938 and 1939 affected also Slovakia. At first, its territory was locked under the Vienna Award resolutions, which not only changed the borders of the states, but also had a considerable effect on the ethnical relations. After a short time, in March 1939, the Slovak State came into existence as one of the outcomes of Hitler's policy, this being necessarily reflected in the country's political system. The Slovak State (the Slovak Republic, as it was officially called after the adoption of the constitution) developed gradually into the political system in which all its elements were dependant on one person - the president, the Fuhrer. According to the Constitutional Act No. 185 about the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, passed on 21 July in 1939, the territory of the state was unitary and indivisible. After the statehood had been acquired, the Slovak majority expected predominantly the enhancement of its status in all spheres of life. Therefore, the constitution codified the principle of the Christian national state. Two power-political wings of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party struggled for the state's character. Although the Constitution of 1939 maintained relatively high standard of the regulations concerning the status of the minorities, its analysing is pointless, since the implementation of the laws during the existence of the Slovak State diverted from the legal norms existing on paper. Often, the implementing regulations of the laws were absent. The laws were arbitrarily violated or deliberately misinterpreted, the best example of which is the solution of the so-called Jewish issue.

Political system of the Slovak State was totalitarian. Despite this fact, it acknowledged the existence of the minority parties. The German and Hungarian minorities were allowed to establish their own political parties. Although political activities of Ruthenians-Ukrainians were tolerated, they were not allowed to form their own party. They could become the members of the only legal political party of the Slovak majority. During the existence of the Slovak State, the minorities were represented in the Slovak National Assembly. This authority, however, did not fulfil the function stipulated by the constitution. The German minority occupied the privileged position among the minorities. Besides the Office for Prime Minister, the Secretariat of State for the Matters Concerning German Ethnic Group in Slovakia was in operation. Thus, the approach to the minorities in Slovakia during the years 1939-1945 can be characterized as differential. While the German minority constituted the privileged class demanding the dominant status in the socio-political life, it was preferred that Ruthenians-Ukrainians assimilate with Slovaks. Hungarians and Czechs moved, to a large extent, out from the

country. The development of the Jew and Gypsy minorities led through their isolation up to their physical elimination.

The short existence of the Slovak State and the peculiar conditions of the period between 1939 and 1945 did not provide for the systematic approach to the solution to the linguistic issue, which was very closely associated with the minority policy of the people's regime. Besides the political rights in the political sphere, the Hungarian and Ruthenian-Ukrainian minorities had to struggle for their language rights, too. The national school system was the object of the legislative regulation also during the era of the Slovak State. The implementation of the law, adopted in 1940, was under the totalitarian regime postponed until the year 1943. In the meantime, however, the minority schools were regularly giving the lessons. The periodicals and the radio broadcasting of the Hungarian, German and Ruthenian-Ukrainian minorities during the Slovak State continued, although they were, to a certain extent, reduced. The content of the broadcasting was censored, as in case of the Slovak media.

Under the pressure of its own discrediting and the war events, the totalitarian regime with the fascist character collapsed. The reestablishment of Czechoslovakia was associated with the hope for the national emancipation in the conditions of the democratic and federative state organization. This hope was marred by the integration of Czechoslovakia into the Eastern Block.

The events of World War II led to the changes in the ethnic structure of the Slovak society. The German and Jewish minorities virtually ceased to exist, following the reestablishment of Czechoslovakia the exchange of minorities between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was carried out, etc. Moreover, the integration of the country into the Eastern Block was reflected in the relationship of the state and the ruling majority to the minorities. Based on the ruling ideology, it was stated that the antagonism toward the ethnic interests in the period of capitalism was replaced by the cooperation in building of the socialist society. The suppression and masking of the disputes among the ethnic groups became the fundamental concern not only due to the Communist ideology of the country, but also because the ethnic conflicts represented the potential threat to the relations among the countries constituting one power block. Though the Communist regime created liberal environment for the chosen minorities to live in, it did not provide the scope to solve some of the problems that came into light only after the fall of this regime.

After the Communist takeover at the beginning of 1948, the rule of law called for recodification. The Ninth-of-May Constitution of 1948 declared Czechoslovakia to be the "people's democracy" and it stipulated the building of socialism to be the main course of further development. According to the constitution, Czechoslovakia was a unitary state of two Slavic nations possessing equal rights - the Czechs and the Slovaks. (Art. 2) In spite of this fact, in Chapter 5, merely the Slovak national authorities, exercising the legislative, executive and governmental power in Slovakia, were mentioned. The analogous authorities did not exist in the Czech part of the country. Thus the constitution enshrined the asymmetric model of the governmental structure. The principle of centralism was strength-

ened, which resulted in the adoption of the 1960 Constitution. The ethnic issue was to be resolved on the basis of the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. Instead of being systematically solved, this issue was rather disregarded in the public life and discussion. The Ninth-of-May Constitution of 1948 was the only document of its kind in the modern history of Slovakia, which did not discuss the rights of the national minorities. This was the consequence of coping with the outcomes of World War II, which in the conditions of the re-established Czechoslovakia meant predominantly coping with the issues concerning the German and Hungarian minorities.

The Constitution of 1960, promulgated on 11 July that year, declared the victory of socialism in the country, and the country adopted the new name, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (ČSSR). Czechoslovakia was described as a unitary state of two fraternal nations possessing equal rights – the Czechs and the Slovaks (Art. 1). Although the 1960 Constitution, which in Article 4 enshrined the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, retained the Slovak authorities, it severely limited their competences (Art. 6). The Constitution of 1960 issued the regulation regarding the non-standard situation in the minority legislation. The citizens of three minority groups – Hungarians, Ukrainians and Polish – were, with state approval, ensured all means for education in their mother tongue and for their cultural development.

In the course of 1968, the country underwent the process of reformation. During this process, the issues regarding the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks and the possible changes in the governmental structure of the country began to be discussed more openly. After a short time, the Constitutional Law of Czechoslovak Federation was drafted and consequently adopted in 1968. In Article 1, the law stipulated that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was composed of two equal fraternal nations – the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. The implementation of this law was negatively affected by the intervention of the Warsaw Pact armies. In the following period of normalization, the provisions of the law were not applied at all, or they were modified by other constitutional acts that extended the scope of the competences of the federal ministries. The Constitutional Law of Czechoslovak Federation from 1968 and its regulations represented the basic legislative framework until the year 1989. The operation of this model of the governmental structure was entirely dependant on the existence of the Communist regime, which could anytime in case of need use its broad power-repressive apparatus in order to set the course of the discussion concerning the questions of the state organization.

The last regulation concerning the minority legislation, carried out before November 1989, was the Constitutional Law No. 144 which stipulated that “the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as a common state of the Czech and Slovak nations, and other nations living in its territory, under the principles of the socialist democracy and internationalism, grants the Hungarian, German, Polish and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) minority groups all means for the universal development.” This regulation was specified in the subsequent articles, in which the at-

mosphere of the reform movement of the Prague Spring in 1968, with its positives and limitations, was reflected.

The Gypsy issue was tackled by the legislation only to a minimal extent after 1948. This minority group was for a long time confronted with the attempts at the forced social and ethnic assimilation (approximately until 1970), or the social and cultural integration (after 1970), without any particular interest of the Communist regime to study this minority group systematically.⁶

The outcomes of World War II and the establishment of the Soviet Block caused the retreat of the language issue, no more regulated by any particular language act. The Constitution of 1960 guaranteed the equality of rights and duties of the citizens regardless of nationality. The Constitutional Act of 1968 granted the Hungarian, German, Polish and Ukrainian minorities the language rights in education, in dealings with the authorities, in the territories inhabited by the minority group and in the press. Under socialism, the schools for the Hungarian and Ukrainian minorities were in operation. These were the inseparable part of the educational system of that time. There were three types of the schools for the national minorities – those teaching in minority language, bilingual schools and the schools teaching the mother tongue and literature.

After the liberation, the German press stopped to be issued. Older Hungarian and Ruthenian-Ukrainian periodicals also ceased to exist, but they were replaced with the new titles, the contents of which were associated with the Communist regime. In the pro-regime atmosphere, the Hungarian and Ruthenian radio broadcasting was reinstated. The television broadcast was bilingual – in the Czech and Slovak languages.

We can hardly speak about the continuity or the basic pattern of the state minority policy for the years 1918–1989. Throughout this period, basically incompatible political systems altered in Slovakia. Each of those systems tried to solve the minority issue taking its own interests, needs, ideological concepts and respective circumstances of the period into consideration. However, no political system settled the minority issue in a way and under such conditions, so that it could become the basis for the minority policy of the present Slovak Republic. The alteration of the political systems and frequent changes of the conditions in Central Europe were negatively reflected in the possible ways of developing of the national identity, and in the inter-ethnic relationships. Regarding this, the most negative element appears to be the lack of democracy and the absence of continuity in the historical development, which affected not only the survival, assimilation or the elimination of the minorities, but mostly the relations among the minorities and majorities marked by (real or potential) conflicts.

Translated by KATARÍNA PEKÁROVÁ

⁶ A. Jurová, "Rómovia na Slovensku," [Roma People in Slovakia] in *Národ a národnosti : Stav výskumu po roku 1989 a jeho perspektívy*, ed. Š. Šutaj, Prešov 2004, 259–260.

"What is the Difference between Freedom and Captivity?"

Repatriation of Prisoners of War from Vojvodina between 1947–1949

ENIKŐ A. SAJTI



*"What is the difference between captivity and freedom?
The answer is simple: what lies between them. The barbed
wire. But this answer is not correct... The real deprivation
is not confined space. Captivity is not a question of space,
but that of time. All those I asked were, without excep-
tion, prisoners of time."*

István Örkény: *People of lagers* (my own translation)

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the questions related to the losses suffered by the Central-Eastern European states were subject to political manipulations for decades. Thus issues such as the fate of prisoners of war (POWs), and of civilians driven to work camps were obscured, manipulated and the source of much friction between the nations of the region and the Soviet Union. A common feature of these manipulations was to avoid the truth coming to light. There were three types of "magic tricks" of political motives about questions of losses in the war and POWs. The official circles of the Soviet Union, until the death of Stalin, and especially in the Neo-Stalinist era of Brezhnev created the myth of "huge victory, small loss" in order to justify the political and military correctness of the "biggest genius of all times" and to support the perfect image of the system. In Yugoslavia, however, the considerable losses were magnified to justify the political and power monopoly of Tito's regime with the thesis of "huge victory, huge (partisan) sacrifice". In Hungary the communist political elite emphasized the break from the Horthy-regime, especially because the war against the Soviet Union rendered Hungary a "sinful nation." Since the Hungarian army took part in a "sinful war" its soldiers could not have been victims, but sinners. The fate of Hungarian soldiers who perished or were imprisoned in World War II has been, up until recently, a taboo question; including the fate of soldiers from Vojvodina. Bringing light to individual or collective histories about the soldiers enlisted between 1941 and 1944 in the Hungarian army from the Vojvodina territory, which was then part of Hungary, has induced intense reactions in Serbia. It is difficult to overcome the dichotomous view of "victorious winners, vanquished sinners" based

on the repainting of past black, or, the opposite. The first step may be to know more about the people who either formed the past, or, unintendedly suffered its consequences. This study would like to make contribution to bringing light to this issue.

For a long time, only data from emigrant literature were at our disposal about the number of the imprisoned soldiers of the Hungarian army. The usual estimates of Hungarian POWs in Soviet imprisonment were of 620,000.¹ Silence surrounding this question was broken in the 1980s and since then a number of articles, memoirs and diaries have been published.² As for the number of POWs, data found in these writings are varied and no consensus has been reached.

The newest articles cite 600,000–700,000 as the number of POWs, but no sources or counts are given. Stark (1989) wrote about 600,000 POWs, of whom, according to him, 150,000 did not return home. In a later work from 2002 he mentioned 600,000–700,000 as the number of soldiers transported to Soviet prisoner-of-war camps, and he estimated the number of people dying on the way to or during captivity at 270,000–370,000.³ According to Krisztián Ungváry, a military historian, 690,000 soldiers and 230,000 civilians became Soviet POWs, totaling about 920,000 people. He supposes that 610,000 of them were transported to camps, and 105,000–155,000 perished there.⁴ As for the fate of the others, he gives no cues. The situation was complicated by the publication of Soviet internal affairs statistics (we will come back to them later) that give max. 540,000 (according to another source 420,000) as the numbers kept in prisoner-of-war camps within the Soviet Union. On the basis of Soviet sources available to us today we can confirm that in the documentations of the former Soviet Union 65,170 Hungarian POWs are mentioned, of whom 29,168 have been identified with the help of Hun-

¹ *Magyar hadifoglyok a Szovjetunióban. Fehér könyv a Szovjetunióba elhurcolt hadifoglyok és polgári deportáltak helyzetéről.* [Hungarian prisoners of war in the Soviet Union. White book on the situation of prisoners of war forced and civilians deported to the Soviet Union] Hungária, Bad Wörishofen, 1950, 9.

² The following is by no means an exhaustive list: I. Horváth, *Bűnhődés büntetlenül. Hadifoglynapló.* [Punishment without crime. A diary of a prisoner of war] Budapest 1992. J. Veress, *Rabszolgák voltunk...* [We were slaves...] Mátészalka 1997. Gy. Dupka–A. Korsun, *A 'Malenkiy Robot' – a dokumentumokban.* ['Malenkiy robot' in documents] Užhorod–Budapest 1997. B. Mezei, *Hol vannak a katonák?* [Where are the soldiers?] Székesfehérvár 1998. *Hadifoglyok írják... Hadifoglysors a második világháborúban.* [Written by prisoners of war... Fate of POWs in World War 2] ed. T. Papp, Budapest 1999. J. Zsigmond, *Apám nyomán Szibériában. Az én háborúm és fogságom történetéből 1944–1948.* [Tracing my father in Siberia. On my war and my captivity, 1944–1948] Budapest 2002. A. Nádas OSB, *Hadifoglynapló.* [A diary of a prisoner of war] Győr 2004.

³ T. Stark, *Magyarország háborús embervesztése.* [Hungarian lives lost in the war] Budapest 1989, 58–62; T. Stark, "Magyarok a szovjet kényszermunkatáborokban," [Hungarians in labor camps] *Kortárs* 46:2–3 (2002). T. Stark, "Magyarok szovjet fogságban," [Hungarians in Soviet captivity] in *A kommunista diktatúra áldozatainak emléknappja*, Budapest 2001, 37–41.

⁴ K. Ungváry, *A magyar honvédség a második világháborúban.* [Hungarian infantry in World War 2. Budapest, 2004, 476–478.

garian documentations. The researchers in the Central Archives and Military Welfare Office of the Museum and Institute of Military History compiled a database about them.⁵

According to the most recent findings, 50 million soldiers and civilians were killed in the Second World War and a 20–22 million were imprisoned, out of whom 4–5 million died mostly in Soviet or German prisoner-of-war camps, or on their way to the camps. Hungary, if we calculate based on its increased territory, lost 6.2% of its population of 14.5 million. Comparing the losses in terms of the percentage of the population, Hungary suffered the largest losses after Poland (15%), the Soviet Union (8.4%) and Germany (6.4%) totaling approximately 900,000 people. The number of soldiers is estimated at 340,000–360,000 and the number of Jewish victims is around 500,000.⁶ The peoples of Yugoslavia lost 1–1.1 million lives (not 1.7 million), the highest losses were incurred by the Serbs, 500,000–550,000, compared with 200,000 Croatian and 100,000 Muslim victims.⁷ The Parliament of the Autonomous Territory of Vojvodina set up a committee in 2001, under the leadership of Dragoljub Živković, to study the exact figures of war victims from Vojvodina without making any ethnic distinctions. The research focused on determining civilian casualties and, though it is still in progress, it has shared some early results. Based on the committee's studies there were 110,000 civilian victims from Vojvodina (this number used to be estimated at 70,000), though their ethnic make-up has not been identified.⁸

A joint project of Hungarian and Russian archivist and historians was published in the summer of 2005. It includes a thick volume of documentary sources from Russian archives relating to the history of Hungarian soldiers and civilians captured and taken to Soviet prisoner-of-war camps between 1941 and 1953.⁹ The project relied on 141 contemporary sources, mainly from internal affairs. They shed light on Soviet policies on POWs, the complicated network of forced labor camps guarding POWs, the role these camps played in the Soviet economy, the health services provided in the camps, and the political education for the prisoners. Plenty of new data is presented in the book, including the number of Hunga-

⁵ <http://www.hadifogoly.adatbanyaszat.hu/page.php?6> Date of access 3. October 2006.

⁶ I. Romsics, *Magyarország története a 20. században*. [The history of Hungary in the twentieth century] Budapest 1999, 268.

⁷ See for more details B. Kočović, *Žrtve drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji*. [Lives lost of Yugoslavia in the twentieth century] Beograd 1985.

⁸ "Anketni odbor za utvrđivanje istine događajima u periodu od 1941 do 1945 godine u Vojvodini. Međunarodni naučni skup. Istina..." *Zbornik radova* (septembar 2004), Glavni i odgovorni urednik prof.dr Dragoljub Živković, Skupština APV, Novi Sad, 2004, and also <http://www.mail-archiv.com/sim@antic.org/msg27484.html> Date of access 3. 02. 2006. According to the personal communication of Professor Živković in January 2006; they finally had access to the documentation of the camp in Jarek "with great difficulties" at the beginning of the year.

⁹ *Vengerskie voennoplennyye v SSR. Dokumenty: 1941–1953*. ed. D. I. Borisov, et al. Moscow 2005.

rian POWs in each lager, their ethnic composition, and about the Soviet-Hungarian negotiations in connection with their repatriation.

Approximately 4 million POWs were *taken* to the Soviet Union (obviously, more were captured). In terms of the *POWs registered* in the Soviet Union, after the German and Japanese POWs, the number of Hungarian POWs was the largest. According to newly disclosed Soviet sources, of those soldiers registered after having arrived between 1941 and 1945 at soviet prisoner-of-war camps, 541,530 were Hungarians; a later Soviet record mentions 513,767 Hungarian POWs working in labor camps, yet another record from July 1945 reports 425,319 Hungarian POWs of a total of 2,688,275 POWs time in the Soviet Union.¹⁰ (another 300,000 Hungarian soldiers of the Hungarian army surrendered to the American and British forces) The Hungarian POWs in the Soviet Union were scattered in 183 camps.¹¹

Forced labor as an important means of war amends was mentioned in connection with German compensation in 1943 by Ivan Mikhailovich Maiskii, the People's Commissar of Soviet Foreign Affairs.¹² Maiskii suggested to V. M. Molotov,¹³ that the Soviet Union employ 5 million German forced laborers. Forced labor, as a natural way of war compensation is referred to in another work of Maiskii's on the post-war peace plans of the Soviet Union, that became infamous under the title of "The desired principles of a world to come" among Hungarian historians. He put together this memorandum for Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs on 11 January 1944, well before the end of the war in the context of German amends "amends by workforce."¹⁴ As the front was moving forward, the

¹⁰ *Vengerskie voennoplennyye v SSR*, 12, 285.

¹¹ The list of those camps where Hungarians were confined to can be found on page 411 of the volume mentioned above. It makes it clear that Hungarian POWs were not only imprisoned in the European areas of the Soviet Union, but in practically all prisoner-of-war camps of the Asian republics and of the Northern territories.

¹² Ivan Mikhailovitch Maiskii (Liakhiveskii) (1884–1975) soviet politician, worked in different diplomatic positions from 1922 on. After missions to Japan and Finland, he was the leader of the Soviet embassy in London (1932–1943), first as an envoy, then as an ambassador. Between 1943 and 1946, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, member of the Academy of the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union, and president of the Inter-Allies Amends Committee based in Moscow. Retired in 1946, from 1947 on he was involved in academic work. His memoirs were published in Hungarian, too.

¹³ Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov (Skryabin) (1890–1986) Soviet politician, one of the closest friends and colleagues of Stalin. He was the secretary of the Central Council between 1921 and 1930, and the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars till 1941. Between 1939 and 1949, then between 1953 and 1956 he served as People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Secretary. In 1957 he became disfavored, was deprived of his offices, was expelled from the party, and became ambassador to Mongolia. He was the Soviet member (1960–1961) of the International Atomic Energy Agency based in Vienna.

¹⁴ *Európa kettészakítása és a kétpólusú nemzetközi rend születése (1945–1949)*. [The division of Europe and the birth of a bipolar international order (1945–1949)] ed. G. Mezei, Budapest 2001, 139. The memorandum says the following in connection with Hungary: "The

principle was expanded to the German population of all freed and occupied countries. As for the historic territory of Hungary before the Trianon treaty, the 16 December 1944 decree of the Soviet Union's Home Defense Committee (headed by Stalin) was in force prescribing the interning of adult men and women of German ethnicity. In 1945, the Hungarian government objected 256 (!) times at the Allied Control Council (ACC) to interning members of the civilian population.¹⁵ Forced labor was never actually reckoned in war amends.

The numbers mentioned above in connection with POWs do not reflect the overall number of all those captured. We deliberately used the expression "registered after having arrived" since those numbers do not include those who died either on the way, or before registering in the camps. Also, those numbers do not include prisoner-of-war camps on the front areas, but only reflect the number of POWs enumerated within the territory of the Soviet Union. These numbers, therefore, do not include the number of civilians transported for "*malenkii robot*" either, because we already know that records made in work camps often mix the categories of POWs and civilians deported to do forced labor, who were mostly, but not exclusively, of German origin. On the basis of soviet camp statistics it is very hard to tell, even approximately, what the total number of deported Hungarian civilians was. We do have, however, access to some important data on different sub-issues. According to the newest Soviet sources, for example, 208,239 German civilians were transported for forced labor to Soviet work camps between January and April, 31,923 of whom (20,989 men and 10,934 women) were Germans from Hungary.¹⁶ Hungarian historians estimate the total number of Germans transported from the historic territory of Hungary to Soviet camps for forced labor at 60,000–65,000.¹⁷

Soviet Union is not interested in creating Hungary as a powerful country. (...) [Hungary] needs to be explained that the Allies did not forget her position in the present war. The policies of the Soviet Union in terms of Hungary will, therefore, be limited to saving the Hungarian state, but, at the same time reducing its territory following ethnographic principles. In cases of doubt when applying the principle the decision should be made to the detriment of Hungary. (...) Hungary should be kept, at least in the first few years after the war, in international isolation. Amends should be imposed on Hungary." Maiskii, hoping that the "notorious" question of the Balkans will be answered in a way that is in line with the interests of the Soviet Union, considered the following to be necessary in connection with Yugoslavia: if the "units around Tito grow stronger" the Soviet Union will agree with Yugoslavia on mutual aids. As for territorial questions, he definitively suggests "the restoration of Yugoslavia within the former borders, with some modification if need be." *Ibid.* 142–143. Our translation.

¹⁵ M. Földesi, *A szabadság megszállása. A megszállók szabadsága – a hadiszákmányról, a jóvátételről, a Szövetséges Ellenőrző Bizottságról Magyarországon*. [Occupying freedom – the freedom of occupiers. On pillage, on amends, on the Allied Control Council in Hungary] Budapest 2002, 154.

¹⁶ *Vengerskie voennoplennyye v SSR*, 22.

¹⁷ See for more details: *Modern rabszolgaság. Malenkij robot. Magyar állampolgárok a Szovjetunió munkatáborában 1945–1949*. [Modern slavery. Hungarian citizens in work camps of the Soviet Union, 1945–1949] ed. M. Füzes, Budapest, 1990; Gy. Zielbauer, *A magya-*

The long and complicated history of the repatriation of Hungarian POWs is not central to the present paper, but a few stages warrant mentioning. The Provisional Government (formed in Debrecen, 22 December 1944) was the first to deal with the question of POWs and they created, within the Ministry of Defense, the Department of POWs. The Department was responsible for finding, registering and providing for POWs. Parallel with this, another Department of POWs was formed within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with competence only in terms of POWs in the Western areas and with no coordinating role whatsoever in terms of the Soviet POWs. The POW question, however, had become an issue of political fights of the coalition parties. There could be no central, exclusive body created to treat the issue because of the objections of the Allied Control Council. There were separate departments for the POW question, apart from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Defense (led by Communists), in the Ministry of Social Welfare and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, too. But the Governmental Committee for Repatriation (established on 1 September 1945), the Red Cross and the Central Office for POWs of the Hungarian Workers' Party also played important roles.¹⁸ Important non-governmental associations helped them in their work, such as the National Association of the Families of POWs, the National Aid, the "Hurry, Give and Help", The Social Mission Society, etc. Most of those who were captivated in the West returned home in 1945, but even some of those transports had to wait till 1947.¹⁹

János Gyöngyösi, Minister of Foreign Affairs handed, on 20 July 1945, the first memorandum to the Soviets in which he suggested commencing Soviet-Hungarian negotiations on the repatriation of Hungarian POWs. Led by Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, the visit of the delegation (Mátyás Rákosi was one member of the delegation) of the Hungarian government to Moscow between 9 and 18 April 1946, came as a breakthrough. During the negotiations Stalin promised personally to repatriate the prisoners, but for a year, hardly anything happened in this respect.

From the Spring of 1946 on, the relatives of the prisoners became more active, influenced by the Party of Small Land-Owners and the National Peasant Party. In order to decrease the political influence of these parties, from 1 July 1946, the case of POWs was transferred to the hands of the Communist Party. Within the Ministry of Social Welfare, as a central administrative body, the department of POWs was created and in Debrecen they set up a prisoner-of-war camp for collection and distribution. According to the promise made by Stalin, in July 1946, the repatriation of POWs from the Soviet Union started with occasional stops.

rországi németiség nehéz évtizede 1945–1955. [The difficult decade of Hungarian-Germans, 1945–1955] Szombathely 1990. L. Tilkovszky, "Magyarországi németek szovjet munkatáborokban," [Hungarian-German in Soviet work camps] *Regio* 2:1 (1991).

¹⁸ Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives, (HNA)] XIX-J-4-a-Belgrád TÚK 2. doboz. 8/biz.- 1948.

¹⁹ P. Hortobágyi, *Magyar hadifoglyok Belgiumban a második világháború után (1945–1947).* [Hungarian POWs in Belgium after WW2 (1945–1947)] *Valóság* 49:6 (2006), 2.

The first major reorganization of prisoner-of-war camps in the Soviet Union started after the war was over in the summer of 1945. Camps on front-areas, that is, outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union were closed and the POWs were transported to the Soviet Union, and allocated to hinterland prisoner-of-war camps and military work squadrons. The next rationale for reorganization was to make forced labor more efficient, the ones injured or unable to work, therefore, were returned home. According to Soviet data in July 1945, 225,000 POWs, among them 24,909 Hungarians, and in August 387,678 invalid, mostly German prisoners, and 131,000 invalid Hungarians were free to go home.²⁰ (We do not know if there were soldiers from Vojvodina among them.) According to the 13 August 1945 report of the Soviet State Defense Committee, all 708,000 prisoners imprisoned in the prisoner-of-war camps of front-areas were invalid and unable to work, that is 412,000 Germans, 150,000 Hungarians and 9,500 Southern Slavs, etc.²¹ The return the POWs who were able to work could only be started after having signed the peace treaty.

In terms of the Paris Peace Treaty (10 February 1947), the repatriation of Hungarian POWs was to start "as soon as possible", and was regulated by the bilateral conventions to be signed between Hungary and the Detaining Powers. The costs of repatriation were to be paid by the Hungarian State.²² According to the peace treaty, the Hungarian government should have concluded a separate POW treaty with the Soviet Union. Even though they tried, they failed to bring such a treaty to fruition. The peace treaty, nevertheless, created the international legal basis for solving the POW question and made it possible for the POWs from Vojvodina and Transylvania, who were detained outside Hungarian borders, to return home.

On the basis of the sources available to us, the question of the repatriation POWs, refugees and internees of Yugoslav origin was first raised in the summer of 1945. Then the Soviet military authorities in Hungary maintained a transit camp (9 Hungária Bvd), and a repatriation committee was set up in order to assist their returning, cooperating with the Yugoslav delegation of the Allied Control Council. At the end of 1945, the Soviet military authorities decided to end the existence of the camp, so the Yugoslav delegation of the Allied Control Council on 8 January 1946 quoting Article 4 of the truce treaty asked the Hungarian government to create a new one to replace the old one, and, as stated in the regulations, to transport home on its own costs the Yugoslav POWs, internees, deportees and refugees holding a ACC certificate.²³ The Ministry of Internal Affairs

²⁰ *Vengerskie voennoplennyye v SSR*, 12.

²¹ *Vengerskie voennoplennyye v SSR*, Doc. nr. 93, 309.

²² Article 75 of the Geneva Convention, signed 27 July 1929, says "should the Powers conclude a peace treaty, they should also include measures of repatriation of POWs" (my own translation). The Hungarian truce contained no measures on this issue.

²³ Point 4 of the Armistice signed on 20 January 1945 says "The government of Hungary shall immediately free all its Allied POWs and internees. The government of Hungary shall, until further instructions, bearing all costs provide sufficient food, clothing, medical support, hygienic materials for all Allied POWs, internees, refugees, deportees; cit-

planned to use a quite dilapidated building at 130 Andrásy Rd, Budapest. The reconstruction of the building was quite slow due to lack of financial sources, and was finally abandoned as the leader of the Yugoslav Repatriation Committee told the Welfare Office in June that the question of the Budapest transit camp was no longer important. They had no problems with returning POWs, internees and refugees because they had found agricultural work for them around Hódmezővásárhely and Szeged until they would return home.²⁴ The two-member Yugoslav Repatriation Committee, Josip Jakubec and Vasa Kuliti, working side by side with the ACC, finished its work: 560 Yugoslav citizens could return home.²⁵

Minister of Foreign Affairs, János Gyöngyösi asked Zoltán Szántó, Hungarian ambassador to Belgrade, on 28 March 1947, that is after the Hungarian peace treaty had been signed, to acquaint himself confidentially using Yugoslav governmental sources with the following questions, quoted from his telegram: "1) would they object to the returning of people from territories re-annexed after 2 January 1938? 2) Are they willing to pay for the costs of their transportation? 3) If these people could only be taken over after ethnic or political selection I would also like to be informed."²⁶ The Hungarian government assumed the following position: "Everybody should be able to return to their original or last place of residence." After around a month, Szántó reported to Budapest that the Yugoslavs "do not object to transporting POWs with local place of residence." As for the costs of the transportation he was going to give an answer later and the third issue was answered the following way: "the examination of the returning would take place in the usual way."²⁷ What this meant is that the POWs returning home were going to be examined not from an ethnic, but from a political point of view. The Ministry of Social Welfare in the meantime decided to orient Vojvodina-Hungarian POWs coming home from the Soviet Union to two transit camps: one already operating in Debrecen and one to be set up in Szeged.²⁸ At the end of May, Szántó informed the government about the fact that the "Yugoslav government is willing to send a committee to the transit camp,"²⁹ thus, they decided that the selection of POWs was going to be done here by Yugoslav authorities. In order to

izens of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia as well. It will also provide for transportation so that all these people could return to their homes" (our translation). *A magyar jóvátétel és ami mögötte van... Válogatott dokumentumok. 1945–1949* [Hungarian amends, and all behind... Selected documents, 1945–1949] eds. S. Balogh and M. Földesi, Budapest 1998, 20.

²⁴ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t.-498-1947. 23.d.

²⁵ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t.-00345-1954. 23.d.

²⁶ HNA XIX-J-1-Z Cryptograms 1947–1964. Outgoing, Belgrád. Box 1, Cryptogram of Gyöngyösi to Szántó, 28 March 1947.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Incoming. Cryptogram of Szántó to Gyöngyösi 26 April 1947. The Yugoslav government did not consider it necessary to inform its Ambassador to Moscow on the issue of Hungarian POWs from Yugoslav territory in May 1947. *Ibid.* Outgoing. Cryptogram of Gyöngyösi to Szántó 24 May 1947.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, or HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7b.t. – 180 144 / res. – 1947. 23.d.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Incoming. Cryptogram of Szántó to Gyöngyösi 29 May 1947.

speed selection up, the Hungarian party suggested that the selection by the Yugoslav POW committee should take place locally in Sighetu Marmăției/Máramarossziget and Focșani/Foksány but the suggestion was refused by the Yugoslav government.³⁰

At the same time, in March 1947, in line with the peace treaty the Hungarian government inquired at the Yugoslav government through the POW department of the Ministry of Social Welfare about repatriating the Hungarian POWs from Yugoslavia. Anton Bebler, Minister of Foreign Affairs reacted in a positive way to the Hungarian inquiries. He emphasized, that "in order to avoid all misunderstanding," that this did not involve Hungarian POWs in internment camps. It has been already been mentioned that the peace treaty only contained the "as soon as possible" clause, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked what the position of József Domokos chief public prosecutor was on the legitimacy of the Yugoslav position. In his letter, dated 13 June 1947, the chief public prosecutor first pointed out that, according to the regulations of the Hungarian peace treaty, the bilateral POW agreement to be signed should regulate this issue, and, as the obligation to let POWs return home is general in scope, Yugoslavia can only detain POWs either with the authorization of Hungary, or "on the basis of general international legal principles." He went on to say that because he had no information whatsoever on how many detained POWs there were in Yugoslavia, he could not take a stand in the "legality of detainment." He thought it was necessary to note at the same time that as those not repatriated yet were "in internment camps and not in prisoner-of-war camps, we could infer that they could be accused of war or ordinary crimes." A final remark in his letter is that any steps in terms of the POWs could only be taken after the peace treaty came into force.³¹

Ambassador Zoltán Szántó, because he could sense the seriousness of the situation of those in Yugoslav internment camps suggested in Budapest to set up a Hungarian committee who could travel to Yugoslavia in order to examine the situation locally. The suggestion was turned down because of the resistance of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and of Defense. Therefore, no steps were taken in this regard towards the Yugoslav government. Consequently, no Yugoslav-Hungarian negotiations took place in terms of the interned Hungarian citizens from Vojvodina. The Hungarian government understood that the Yugoslav party had limited the whole issue to the reception of some selected "prisoners with German names" who had Hungarian citizenship. This was the way they made Budapest see the rather special interpretation of the international obligations of the Yugoslav government in terms of the retained POWs, fulfilled and non-negotiable according to them.

The data available on the number of POWs received "with German names" and with Hungarian citizenship differ, though not significantly. Some sources mention 388 POWs and 14 internees (11 women and 3 men), others speak of 417

³⁰ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t. - 180 185-1947. 23.d.

³¹ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t. - 180 041-1947. 23.d.

POWs and 14 internees, but one can also meet the number of 434 too.³² As far as we are concerned, we consider the minutes of the reception authentic. According to this, a certain colonel Georgiević handed over 422 prisoners on behalf of the Yugoslav authorities to the Hungarian authorities at Horgoš, 17 July 1947.³³ Representing the Hungarian party, lieutenant-colonel Zsigmond Zsille took the prisoners over. A witness of the events, Péter Rubin, secretary of the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade describes them in the following way: "There were 422 POWs who had been directed to Szeged from Horgoš. They are Swabians who were captured in 1945. At that time, they wore German uniforms and served at different military bodies. Some were members of the Volksbund, others served in the Prinz Eugen unit. Right after the handing-over, the Hungarian border patrols occupy the wagons. The train is redirected to Debrecen, where the department of state security carefully examines POWs from Yugoslavia."³⁴ Originally the transport was to have 423 persons, but one fell ill, and 14 civilian internees had not arrived to the transit camp "because of organizational problems" – these people, therefore, could not return home. As the handing-over of POWs with Hungarian citizenship and with German origin took place before the ratification of the peace treaty, as if it was a political message (the peace treaty came into force 15 September 1947), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered Ambassador Szántó to transmit the message of "grateful thanks" to the Yugoslav government for this "friendly gesture."³⁵

The next chapter of the history of Vojvodina POWs from the Hungarian army started in 1947-1948. The Communist Party tried to use the rather intermittent repatriation from the Soviet Union for its own interests, and having seen that interstate-wise the obstacles were hard to overcome, it tried to give an impetus on the political side. On 27 April 1947, Mátyás Rákosi, leader of the Hungarian Communist Party traveled to Moscow in order to inform the Soviets on Hungarian internal affairs. Before his trip he wrote a letter to Stalin in which he pointed out that "it would be highly desirable" if Hungarian prisoners were released "as soon as possible" upon the request of the Communists.³⁶ Molotov met Rákosi in Moscow and spoke about his anxiety that the release of POWs would increase the position of the "reactionary powers." It seems Rákosi got the hint and having returned home he immediately met with the delegation of the Democratic Association of Hungarian Women, a women's association that was allegedly inclined towards the communist cause. The leaders of the association asked Rákosi to intercede for them at Stalin so that their sons and husbands could be released. These preparatory steps led to the writing of the "letter of Hungarian mothers" to Stalin on 6 May 1947. In this letter, available today in Russian, they asked "the great leader of the Soviet Union" to show "generosity, benevolence and support"

³² HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t. – 180 166.res. – 1947.; 180 162.res.-1947. 23.d.

³³ HNA XIX-J-4-a-Belgrád TÜK 4955 – 1947. 1. d.

³⁴ HNA XIX-J-4-a-Belgrád TÜK 4955 – 1947. 1. d.

³⁵ HNA XIX-J-4-a - Belgrád TÜK 180/res - 1947. 1. d.

³⁶ *Moszkóának jelentjük... Titkos dokumentumok 1944-1948.* [Reporting to Moscow... Confidential documents, 1944-1948] eds. L. Izsák and M. Kun, Budapest 1994, 195.

in this particular issue.³⁷ After having prepared the ground emotionally, a few days later, on 9 May 1947, Rákosi, referring to the powerful action of the wives and relatives of POWs, reminded Stalin of the importance of the issue. He asked him to release Hungarian soldiers “generously” before the peace treaty enters in force. After such propagandistic preparations, making sure that the expected political profit would strengthen the communist side, on 13 May 1947 Stalin eventually told Rákosi that before the ratification of the peace treaty they were going to begin the repatriation of POWs in May.

According to the Soviet data Gyula Szekfű,³⁸ the Hungarian ambassador to Moscow, forwarded to Budapest, between May 1947 and March 1948, the names of 100,892 Hungarian POWs who were repatriated. Among them 16,620 were not Hungarian citizens, 10,489 were from Romania, 3,703 from Czechoslovakia and 1,574 from Vojvodina.³⁹

The employees of the Hungarian embassy, established in January 1947 at Belgrade, were actively involved with the reception of the Vojvodina POWs returning home from the Soviet Union. Ambassador Zoltán Szántó⁴⁰ was charged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with finding out what position Belgrade adopted in this issue. Anton Bebler, deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, answering Szántó’s personal urging, in his letter on 5 May 1947 said that for the time being they were “studying” the issue.⁴¹ A few days later, on 10 May, the Yugoslav party let Budapest know about the conditions of reception. According to them, the prisoners were first to be collected and registered in Hungary. After

³⁷ Vengerskie voennoplennyye v SSR. Doc. nr. 119, 361–362.

³⁸ Gyula Szekfű (1883–1955) One of the most important conservative Hungarian historians, also worked as an archivist for a longer time. His influential work of political history, *Három nemzedék* [Three generations] published in 1920, searches for the answer to the catastrophe of Trianon. He was editor of *Magyar Szemle* [Hungarian Review], a high quality journal of English orientation, and also published a lot in *Magyar Nemzetben* [Hungarian Nation], an anti-German paper. He was a representative in April 1945 of the Provisory Assembly, envoy, and then ambassador to Moscow between 1945 and 1948.

³⁹ HNA XIX-J-4-a Belgrád TÜK. 2. d. 8/biz – 1948.

⁴⁰ Zoltán Szántó (1893–1977) communist politician. During WW1 he was in Russian imprisonment. He took part in the events of the Communist takeover of 1919, then immigrated to Vienna, was imprisoned in 1927. In 1935 after his release he immigrated to the Soviet Union where he participated in the work of the Comintern. During WW2 he was editor in chief for the radio channel “Kossuth” in Moscow. He returned to Hungary in the summer of 1945. He was the first ambassador of Hungary to Belgrade and to Tirana from 1947. In January 1949 he was revoked “for a longer time”. In the 1950s, he worked as envoy in Paris, then, as ambassador in Warsaw. From 1954 to 1956 he served as member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers’ Party, from 23 October 1956 member of the Political Committee and the Presidium. After the suppression of the revolution he escaped to the Yugoslav embassy with Imre Nagy and his associates from where he was deported to Romania. He testified in 1958 in the trial of Imre Nagy and his associates.

⁴¹ HNA XIX-J-4-a Belgrád TÜK 1. d. 1656–1947.

having registered them the Yugoslav party was to decide "who would be allowed to enter Yugoslav territory." Belgrade made it clear that the costs of transportation of the prisoners from the Soviet Union to their place of residence were to be paid by Hungary. The Department of POWs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs tried to make the Yugoslavs see that the whole process would be faster if the Yugoslav committee selected the POWs directly in the transit camps of Sighetu Marmăției/Máramarossziget and Focșani/Foksány, but they failed in their attempt. They also tried splitting the costs. The Department of POWs of the Ministry of Social Welfare asked Ambassador Zoltán Szántó to intercede on behalf of Hungary because of its "grave financial situation," so that the Yugoslavs pay for "the costs of transportation of Yugoslav citizens and POWs of Hungarian ethnic origins returning to their future place of residence."⁴² Eventually, even though the Yugoslav government did not accede to either the mode of reception nor in sharing the costs, in July 1947, under these conditions contrary to the regulations of the peace treaty, i.e. without a bilateral POW agreement, the Hungarian government urged that the POW reception be started and notified Belgrade that the POWs were waiting for the Yugoslav reception committee in Szeged.⁴³ A month passed before Belgrade suggested that the POWs from the Szeged camp should travel personally to the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest for the administrative forms to be filled in. They only renounced the requirement for "personal application" when the Hungarian party firmly announced that they were unable to organize that.⁴⁴ The delay in sending the reception committee to Szeged was simply explained by "too much work at the same time".

The Szeged transit camp was set up in the building of the local Neurology building, and representing the city, dr. Károly Zentay, social inspector assisted the Yugoslav reception committee. Hermann Pokorny,⁴⁵ the head of the POW department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was satisfied with the operation of the Szeged camp under communist leadership, because he wrote in one of his reports in the camp "was exemplarily clean and orderly," and cultural needs and of

⁴² The Soviets were negotiating the costs of repatriating Romanian-Hungarians directly with the Romanian government. The Czechoslovak government refused, in fact, Hungarians with residence in Czechoslovakia because of the ongoing deportations. They only accepted 80 persons from the 1947 Hungarian transport of around 1000 people from Czechoslovakia; exclusively those born before 1913 and who spoke Slovakian or had gone through Czech schooling. HNA XIX-J-4-a Belgrád TÜK 8/biz.-1948, 2.d.

⁴³ HNA XIX-J-4-a Belgrád TÜK 2959-1947, 1.d.

⁴⁴ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t.-180 185 és 180 215-1947, 23.d.

⁴⁵ Hermann Pokorny (1882-1960) colonel general. During WW1 worked in the operative team of the high commission of the Austro-Hungarian army as cryptographer. In 1918 he was member of the Austro-Hungarian delegation at the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty negotiations with the Soviets. From 1937 he was retired. In 1945 he was reactivated and became the leader of the Armistice Department of the Provisional Government. From 1947 to 1949 he was the head of the POW department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

the POWs are catered for "in an outstanding way."⁴⁶ The POWs arrived after a long journey at the Szeged camp via Maramureş and Debrecen.

In July 1947, Belgrade sent the Vojvodina POWs through the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest the first questionnaires for their registration and selection (*Karton prethodnih podataka*), but the POW department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, only received them in the middle of September.⁴⁷ They were anxious to know, apart from personal data, what Hungarian troops, under which commandment the returning soldiers served, what their rank was when they were captured, but also asked about close family. This way they could examine the prisoners politically, mainly being interested in any "fascist" organization they adhered to.

The sources indicate that there were problems with insufficient number of questionnaires and the slow pace of filling them in. Vladimir Velebit Yugoslav deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, for example, cautioned Ambassador Szántó on 18 September 1947 to send the POW-questionnaires back "urgently," the leader of the Szeged camp still asked for a new batch of questionnaires in November.⁴⁸ Hermann Pokorny, the head of the POW department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in his report III of 28 November 1947 could record 500 completed questionnaires sent to Belgrade through the Ministry of Social Welfare.⁴⁹ Another report mentions "217 new completed questionnaires" sent to the Yugoslav government at the end of November 1947.⁵⁰ After long administrative preparations, Pokorny in his Report IV of 20 January 1948 could finally proclaim that "practically all prisoners from the Szeged Yugoslav prisoner-of-war camp could return home," only those staying who "would have faced persecution" at home "mainly Swabians, SS or Volksbund members." A few months later, in his POW report VIII of 10 September he bitterly noted that at the end of July there were still approximately 400 persons in the Szeged camp. According to the report "their provision is difficult, and their reception is slow and burdensome."⁵¹

600 POWs were received from the Szeged camp by the Yugoslavs by April 1948, meaning only a small amount, only 37% of 1,574, Hungarian POWs from Vojvodina released from Soviet camps.⁵²

From the spring of 1948 on, the political conditions of POW reception dramatically decayed because of the sudden deterioration of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and the anti-Yugoslav decision of the Cominform Information Office in Bucharest. Between April 1948 and February 1949 the reception of POWs completely ceased. The Hungarian government, nevertheless, tried to "rock the boat."

⁴⁶ HNA XIX-J-4-a Belgrád TÜK 8/biz.-1948, 2.d.

⁴⁷ HNA XIX-J-4-a Belgrád TÜK 45/biz.-1947. ; XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t. -180 244-1947, 23.d.

⁴⁸ HNA XIX-J-4-a-Belgrád TÜK 90/biz.-1947, 2.d.

⁴⁹ HNA XIX-J-4-a-Belgrád TÜK 8/biz.-1948.

⁵⁰ HNA XIX-J-4-a-Belgrád TÜK 90/biz.-1948.; 119/biz.-1948.

⁵¹ HNA XIX-J-4-a-Belgrád TÜK 8/biz.- 1948.

⁵² HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia-7/b.t.-00345-1954, 23.d.

After 6 September 1948, the governmental organization dealing with POWs reviewed the case of Hungarian POWs from Yugoslavia and decided to "take some steps in order to receive them." Before this actually happened, they examined the situation of the transit camp in Szeged, and, tried to find out how many Vojvodina POWs there were in other transit camps. What they found was that the Yugoslav reception committee visited Szeged in March 1948 for the last time, and there were still 296 prisoners in the camp from the transport of 1947 whom the Yugoslavs were unwilling to receive. According to their calculations 600 Vojvodina prisoners were still to come from Sighetu Marmăției/Máramarossziget, Romania.⁵³ At that point, the National Central Authority for Controlling Foreigners of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (NCACF) also urged the reception of the residents of the Szeged camp. As police lieutenant colonel József Balázs, leader of the NCACF wrote in his letter, as their relatives lived in Yugoslavia, the prisoners stuck here "lived a life of bumps and beggars, endangering the security and order of the country."⁵⁴

A widow from Feketics, Mrs Lajos Burai tried to draw the attention of the Hungarian government to the case of prisoners stuck in Sighetu Marmăției/Máramarossziget in a letter of 26 September 1948. With support from Budapest, she wanted to start the movement of Vojvodina mothers for the repatriation of their sons. Eventually she failed in her attempts as her letter, sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs via the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade was not used by Budapest for its own interests. The letter says

"Let us set this letter of Hungarian mothers on its path to Your Excellency because our sons having been absent for four years arrived in Sighetu Marmăției/Máramarossziget and still cannot return home. As they write they just lie there and nobody takes care of them. Hungarians from Romania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary have already returned home, but they, Hungarians from Yugoslavia, are put into lagers and don't know what is going to happen to them. So we ask Your Excellency to do something for their sake, as here nobody wants to hear about their repatriation to Yugoslavia. We are giving you our deepest respect asking you to be generous and bring our boys home."⁵⁵

Ambassador Zoltán Szántó, acting on the orders of his government contacted the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs in this case, and, finally, on 3 December 1948 urged their reception "in a note of powerful tone." Due to this, the case had finally moved from its position and two weeks later the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced its will to send a committee to Hungary again. The Delegation led by Mirko Martić met with Jenő Benedek, head of the National Military Welfare Office in Budapest and Debrecen in the beginning of February 1949. On behalf of their government they communicated univocally that they would

⁵³ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia -7/b.t.-180 640-1948, 23.d.

⁵⁴ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia -7/b.t.-180 640-1948, 23.d.

⁵⁵ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia -7/b.t.-180 640-1948, 23.d.

only receive those Yugoslav citizens who "want to return home" and resolutely declared that they refuse to receive not only those who had been declared war criminals or Volksbund-members by them but also those "who were against Yugoslavia's social order." This latter phrase did not only mean the acceptance of state-socialism but also adherence to the anti-Moscow position of the Yugoslavian political elite. Under the given circumstances an analytical study called "the relationship between the delegation and the Hungarian party was tense." The transit camp close to the border in Szeged was wound up in the meantime and the prisoners were transported to Debrecen. The Yugoslav delegation talked to every prisoner personally in the Debrecen camp, "even with those who were living with their relatives and only traveled to Debrecen for the occasion." As a result of these negotiations 531 prisoners were taken over, but refused 146 because of reasons mentioned above.⁵⁶

Those POWs who stayed in Hungary were interned for reasons of security by the Hungarian authorities and were forbidden to keep any contact with relatives in Yugoslavia. Only after the relationship between the two countries had ameliorated in the spring of 1954 were 25 POWs allowed to correspond with their families.⁵⁷

According to the Soviet sources, mentioned several times already, altogether 418,782 Hungarian POWs returned to Hungary till 1949 from the Soviet Union, according to some sources 54,753 persons, according to some other sources 65,170 persons died in GUPVI⁵⁸ camps.

As we could see, there were 1,574 prisoners from Vojvodina, eventually 1,131 persons (600+531 persons) could return to their place of residence – re-annexed to Yugoslavia.

⁵⁶ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia -7/b.t.-00345-1945, 23.d.

⁵⁷ HNA XIX-J-1-j-Jugoszlávia -7/b.t.-00857-1954, 23.d.

⁵⁸ GUPVI (Glavnoie upravlenie po dielam voennoplennyyh i internirovannyh) – the high office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union created to deal with POWs and internees. POWs were, therefore, placed in GUPVI camps. Measures regulating the forced labor of POWs date from April 1943. In December 1949 in GUPVI camps, there were 9,005 Hungarians held captive. The last group of POWs (370 persons) returned home in 1955.

Documenta Res Andegavensium 1341 (Volume XXV)

FERENC SEBŐK



The sources of Hungarian medieval history – apart from narrative sources – are made up of published and unpublished charters. About 300,000 charters survive from the period before the battle of Mohács (1526), disproportionately distributed among the sub-periods of the Middle Ages. While 10,000 charters originated in the Árpadian period (895–1301), most of them published, later periods are much underrepresented in this respect because the number of charters rises sharply and most of them remain unpublished. The first part of the era of King Sigismund (1387–1422) is again well represented by source publications, thanks to Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa et al. The last period of Hungarian medieval history is in much worse condition; charters from this period can only be found in thematic or family history source publications.

Turning our attention towards the history of the Angevin period, for a long time researchers had to rely on a source publication entitled *Anjou-kori okmánytár* (Charters of the Angevin period), which published charters *in extenso*, and due to this policy the series could not aim at publishing all the documents from this period. The series was stopped at Volume 7, which contained documents up to 1359. In 1990 a fundamental change was initiated by Gyula Kristó and his colleagues, when publication of *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* (*Documenta res Andegavensium*) was started. This new series ceased to follow the method of the *Anjou-kori okmánytár*, publishing documents in the form of excerpts in the Hungarian language. So far 17 volumes have been published in this series and work is currently making good progress. In a few years time the history of King Charles I (1301–1342) will be complete, which will offer unprecedented opportunities for research in the history of this age. None of the kings' ages after 1301 have been researched on the basis of all available sources, which will now be made possible with the help of our new series. Work will go on with the publication of the sources of King Louis I, the Great.

My dissertation processes the documents of the last but one year of King Charles I. At the outset I established that the National Archives preserves 776 original charters or their photocopies from this year. As a result of the kind co-operation of the Csongrád County Archives I had the opportunity to study these charters in photocopies. A small number of these documents were published ear-

lier (e.g., the *Anjou-kori okmánytár* contains 62 charters). I checked the originals of those charters which had already been published in order to screen out incidental mistakes. I prepared Hungarian language calendars of the charters. I established the dates so I could correct the mistakes in the chronological index of the National Archives of Hungary. (My dissertation contains a detailed list of these mistakes.) During the preparation of excerpts most of the problems were caused by the charters which survived only in transcripts or excerpts. In order to decipher them I had to read many other documents originating from other years. The language of the charters is medieval Latin, their way of writing is totally different from modern writing, special skills are needed simply to read them. Names and toponyms contained in the documents were taken over by my excerpts, retaining their original way of writing. The language of the excerpts is Hungarian, with the exception of dates and certain expressions, which retain their original Latin form. The total of excerpts reached the number of 900, including mentions. This work phase was followed by the preparation of apparatus joining each item in the dissertation. This contains all the data on how the charters' survived, whether they were published before, or not, etc. My dissertation also contains the charters which have not survived to the present day, but were published earlier in some source publication and later perished (e.g., in World War II). Furthermore, I also include the charters which were dated to 1341, but I managed to discover that they originated in other years.

Seals were described by an archivist colleague, whom I would like to thank here as well. The description of the seals of the surviving charters was included in the dissertation; those which I studied in the form of a photocopy only are only included if I could obtain some information on the form of sealing on the basis of the photographs.

The last phase of the work is the preparation of the index, which means arrangement of tens of thousands of data in the right order and application of excerpt numbers to them. I do not include the index in my dissertation because it would make my dissertation too voluminous, but it will be included in a future volume. This will contain all the personal names and toponyms included in my work.

As a result of my work, for the first time the poorly known period of King Charles I will offer better opportunities for study by Hungarian scholars. The volume, which will soon follow, will provide a continuation to the volumes about 1339 and 1340, and will join together the last years of King Charles I as work is in progress concerning the year 1342, too. My dissertation will shed new light on certain issues of the Angevin kingdom, e.g., the palatine's judicial activity in the country, the royal policy of establishing castle dominions, economic policy, foreign policy, etc., as well as new data concerning changes in contemporary Hungarian society.

Eastern Trade of the Roman Empire based on Pliny the Elder's Natural History

MELINDA SZÉKELY



Topic, aims and methods

My PhD thesis investigates the ancient long-distance trade between India and the Roman Empire, its routes, products, and social and cultural effects based on written sources and archaeological findings, principally in the time of the early principate. My research is based on the study of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Book VI. This book contains a geographical description of Asia, its people and commercial routes. In my thesis India, Taprobane, and Arabia are given extra attention. I give the Hungarian translation of the description of these areas supplemented with notes. I have also studied Pliny's other books mentioning oriental trade, primarily those on plants, animals, and gems as well as literary and other Greek and Latin sources, such as *papyri*, inscriptions and *ostraca* from the days of the principate. I used research reports to study archaeological findings. On the basis of the *Natural History* I also examined Pliny's personality, his personal views and social status. I studied his personal relations to the dynasty in power. His personal opinion considering the Romans who participated in long-distance trade and those who made use of the imported luxuries also constituted part of my interest.

The aim of my thesis was to study the economic, political and cultural links between the ancient Mediterranean and Oriental worlds and also to analyse the effects of these connections on the social, economic, and cultural relations within the Roman Empire. The fact that the age of Pliny the Elder, the 1st century A. D. was the great age of long-distance trade in the Roman Empire contributed to my choice. Several events of the 1st century B. C. stimulated the increase in oriental trade. Hippalus discovered the monsoon winds characteristic of the Indian Ocean. Pompey eliminated Mediterranean pirates, who had caused significant problems earlier. Navigation techniques had developed. The economic and political measures of Augustus, imperial peace, and wealth had all contributed to the flourishing of long-distance trade. According to the contemporary political status quo, Romans preferred sea routes, as a most land routes were controlled by the Parthian Empire. Besides Pliny's *Natural History* several literary and other sources tell us about the relationship between the East and the Roman Empire. However,

it is important to note that these sources only mention these relations. When choosing the topic, I also considered the fact that very few of Pliny's 37 books have been published in Hungarian. Some passages from books I–VI, XII–XXI and XXXIII–XXXVII are available (Plinius: *A természet históriája. Válogatott részek az I–VI. könyvekből*. [Pliny: *Natural History*, Selected passages from Books I–VI] tr. K. Váczy, Bucharest 1973; *Plinius a növényekről*. Részletek a XII–XXI. Könyvekből [Pliny: *On Plants*. Excerpts from Books XII–XXI]. tr. S. Tóth, Budapest 1987; translations of E. Máthé, from books XXXIII–XXXVII in anthologies: *A görög művészet világa* [The World of Greek Arts] (Budapest 1962) and *A római művészet világa* [The World of Roman Arts] (Budapest 1974). The Hungarian translation of a complete book from the *Natural History* was published in 2001 [Books XXXIII–XXXVII on minerals and arts (Darab-Gesztelyi 2001)]. Foreign translations and comments are not complete either. The Budé series published Volume 2 of Book VI in 1980, containing the text and translation of chapters 18–26, together with notes and a thorough study. In the past 25 years, however, the previously promised further 2 volumes containing chapters 1–17 and 27–39 have not been published. When choosing the topic of my thesis I considered the fact that the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. (which caused the death of Pliny) provides us with a clear picture of the contemporary life of Pompei, of the objects they used and their prices, giving us an idea of the way of life and arts in the Roman Empire in the 1st century A.D. In the past decades several *papyri* and *ostraca* with records proving transit trade have surfaced in Egypt. In 1980 a *papyrus* was found in Alexandria and it was published in Vienna 5 years later (1985). This *papyrus* is the most important written evidence on the trade between India and the Roman Empire. International excavations are being carried out in India and the findings and results are published continuously. However, these are only fragments, studied and processed by internationally reputed experts, as it is the only way to determine when and where in the Roman Empire the given amphora was manufactured, how it was transported and what it contained. New scientific research methods also promote the better understanding of trade in the 1st century A.D. My thesis makes use of these findings. The fact that the only significant monograph on the Roman-Indian trade to day is that of Warmington from 1928, published again in a virtually unchanged form in 1974, also contributed to my choice. The topic has not been studied in Hungarian.

During my research I wished to answer the following questions: When did the oriental trade of the Roman Empire start? What routes did the trade involve? How long did the journey take? What do we know about contemporary shipping? Where were the most important ports? Who were the traders? What was their financial background like? What products did they trade in? How much did the transport cost? Who could afford these products? What amounts of the various commodities did the Roman Empire need? How much did the goods cost? What did the Romans pay with? How did the oriental trade affect the Roman economic and financial situation? What did the Romans know about the East, India, Taprobane, and Arabia? How extended was the geographical horizon of the Romans during the principate? What Western products reached India? Did they

have any detectable effects? To what extent did the state interfere with trade – did it help or hinder it? What taxes do we know of? How did the oriental trade change the everyday life and habits of Roman citizens? What changes can we notice in the society? Can we detect any cultural effects either in India or in the Roman Empire? How did the Romans' image of India change in the 1st century A.D.? What was Pliny the Elder's personal opinion of oriental trade, of the people involved and of the Romans who made use of these Eastern products? Does he criticise the society of his age in his works? What characterises his relationship to the dynasty in power?

During my research my aim was to perform a comprehensive analysis of the available sources. I have tried to follow the principle originating from Theodor Mommsen but first expressed by Géza Alföldy: The study of antiquity is a comprehensive science, and Classical philology, the study of inscriptions, numismatics, archaeology and papyrology are just subspecialties of the same field – one has to aim at a complete historical overview and make use of everything that is available. As a historian also qualified in Latin, I have followed the advice of Gyula Wojtilla when concentrating on Pliny's work. I translated, interpreted and prepared notes for the passages of the *Natural History* that deal with the East. During the translation I had difficulties with the frequently archaic use of the language, with words that turned up only once (*hapax legomenon*), geographical places that can no longer be identified, names of tribes, foreign terminology and elliptic structures. Pliny compiled his encyclopaedia based on 2,000 texts of more than 100 Greek and Roman authors and he made no attempt to unify the various styles of the different authors. This fact presented an additional difficulty in translation. When preparing the notes I had to gain some expertise in the field of various specialties from astrology through the production of glass and the use of spices to fine arts. I also focused on other contemporary written sources, especially on *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, which was probably written in the days of Pliny and also on Strabo's *Geographica*. On the basis of the above principle I also tried to make use of the ever-increasing number of other sources, namely inscriptions, *papyri*, *ostraca*, coins and the findings of archaeological excavations. These fragmentary sources also helped to cast new light on the written sources.

Results

The route of sea trade between the ancient Mediterranean world and India included Egypt and the Red Sea. Trade connections had been present before the Roman era; however, the conditions for extensive long-distance trade were only established by the imperial Roman Empire. According to Strabo, in the age of the Ptolemies few had the courage to sail to India for goods; before the time of Augustus not even 20 vessels risked the voyage across the Arabic Gulf (northern part of the Red Sea) (Strab. 17, 1, 13), while during the reign of the *princeps* 120 vessels left Myos Hormos for India (Strab. 2, 5, 12). A *papyrus* discovered in Alexandria in 1980 and published in Vienna in 1985 proves that by the 2nd century A. D. the merchants of the Roman Empire had learnt the precise trade route from Alexandria to Coptos, from Coptos across the desert to a port on the Red Sea, and

further on to India. According to the text, the long and dangerous voyage was planned cautiously. The *papyrus* records the lend-lease contract of a vessel, which reveals the existence and use of sophisticated legal transactions.

Excavations in India have revealed many remains of ancient Roman objects, which have been published in research reports. However, the findings and results of various specialties have not been compared and summarised yet. Based on the examination of goods of Roman origin and that of literary sources we can find several differences between North and South India. There is a difference between the range of exported and imported goods, and especially between the characteristics of merchant communities. In the north, trade was directly supervised by local rulers, who controlled commercial interactions with the help of their agents. In contrast, the southern kingdoms preferred free trade, based on agreements with western merchants. These southern areas reveal obvious signs of foreign colonies. The rulers from north purchased luxury goods from the West: excellent wines, expensive clothes, precious silver ware, reputed remedies, musically talented slaves and pretty female slaves. The southern areas preferred simple clothes, copper, leather, coral, wine, and money. Even goods made of glass show a different distribution: the northern regions required glass dishes, which were considered luxurious at the time, whereas the southerners bought raw glass. From the ports of Muziris and Nelkynda on the southwest coast of India, semi-prepared blocks of glass were forwarded to the cities of the east coast.

In the initial periods of the commercial exchange between India and the Roman Empire (during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius) the Romans used to pay for the Eastern luxuries mainly with gold and silver coins. Tiberius indignantly mentions that the money of the empire is taken by foreigners in exchange for gems to please their women (Tac. *Ann.* 3, 53). Pliny estimated that India drained away at least 50 million *sestertii* annually (Plin. 6, 26, 101). In another book he indicates that the trade with India, Arabia, and China deprived the empire of 100 million *sestertii* every year (Plin. 12, 41, 84). Archaeological findings support the estimation of literary sources. According to estimations, 5400 *denarii* and 800 *aurei* have been found in India. The coins were not only used as a means of payment; due to their value and high content of precious metal they were also collected as treasure. This was the situation during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty; however, the financial reforms of Nero and the reduction in the silver content of the *denarius* changed this tendency.

Archaeologists have also found some Roman coins in India that had two holes near their edge or a ring welded on them. Thus, we can draw the conclusion that Roman coins were also used as jewellery. Coins transformed into jewellery were also worn in the Roman Empire; such findings have surfaced near Alexandria in Egypt and in other imperial provinces. If we examine Indian coins, it turns out that the technique and illustration of Roman products were copied by local craftsmen. Indian money, ceramics and glass objects from the subsequent periods reveal Roman influence.

Besides Roman coins of precious metal, raw blocks of glass were also shipped to India. Raw glass may have functioned as ballast aboard vessels struggling with

monsoon winds. According to Casson, Roman products arriving at South Indian ports were unloaded from the marine vessels and shipped on local boats across the dangerous crossing full of reefs between Taprobane and Cape Comorin. Findings of glass and coins, however, indicate a more significant route overland through the pass of Phalgat. This route suggests an overland connection between the southwest and east coasts of India. The area has several mines rich in beryl. Beryl was a popular type of gem during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Most coins were found no further than 3 miles from the mines and almost all of them were minted in the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Apart from mining, this region was also famous for its black peppercorns, which were also considered a luxury in the West. Raw glass was probably also transported by land to the eastern cities of Arikamedu and Kudikadu, where the vast majority of glass beads was manufactured. Archaeological findings suggest that raw glass was processed in these two cities. Glass beads produced here reached not only the rest of India but also the southeast Indian islands; apparently the most important bead manufacturer of the region was Arikamedu. A commercial settlement discovered on the island of Bali in the 1990s discovered 79 potsherds among other things. Investigations of the material and the Brahmin inscriptions on the surface of the potsherds proved the existence of a commercial link with Arikamedu in the 1st century A.D., exactly the heyday of trade relations between India and the Roman Empire. Spices, animals and minerals were taken from Indonesia to India and subsequently some of these goods were forwarded to the Mediterranean world. Thus, it can be concluded that India acted as a mediator between the Western world and the southeast Indian islands. Products from the Roman Empire and the technology to manufacture such metal- and glassware were introduced on the islands, and the treasures of Indonesia were forwarded to the West. Therefore, a well-arranged system of world trade seems to have been functioning in the 1st century A.D. connecting Hispania through the Mediterranean Sea, Egypt, Red Sea and the Indian Ocean with India and the southeast Indian islands. Arikamedu and other east Indian *emporion*, where people of Mediterranean origin settled, played a central role in this trade. New pieces of information reached the western world from the southeast Indian islands; however, the expansion of the geographical horizon cannot be detected in literary sources: the eastern border of the inhabited world continued to be India, the Ganges River and the *mare Eoum* in the 1st century A. D.

Amphora fragments from the Mediterranean world have surfaced in many parts of India. The vast majority of these fragments belong to Dressel Forms 2-4 amphorae, which originated from the region of Campania, the most famous grape-growing area in ancient Italia. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and the ostraca of the Nicanor archive also confirm that Italian wine was transported to India. According to Ruffing, the excellent quality of these wines together with the length and complexity of the transport made the wine so expensive that only very wealthy people could afford it. Only rulers and members of the privileged classes could afford to buy it, therefore it might have served as a symbol of social status as well. Inhabitants of Mediterranean origin can also be considered to have

been consumers of the Italian wine, so if they could afford it their role as mediators must have earned them a considerable amount of money. Dressel Forms 6 and 20 amphorae have also been identified; they were used to store olive oil. This latter type of pottery contained olive oil from Hispania, but potsherds originating from the Istrian peninsula have surfaced as well. Dressel Forms 7-8 amphorae have been found in Arikamedu as well – these pots were used to store *garum*, a type of salty fish sauce. The scale of olive oil and *garum* export was probably lower and – just as in the case of wine – it must have satisfied the needs of Roman subjects living in ports and commercial settlements. According to the *Periplus* even wheat was taken to India for Roman settlers and seamen, while the locals preferred rice.

On the basis of the sources we can conclude that the trade between India and the Roman Empire was arranged by individuals. Tax records, inscriptions, *papyri* and *ostraca* suggest that marine companies operated on the Red Sea. Making loans for sea trade, the so-called *pecunia traiectica*, was a popular form of business. *Societates* and *pecunia traiectica* did not exclude one another as the latter one primarily supported private transport. According to Rougé, major merchants, transporters and companies did not take out such loans. Companies were managed by people who had the means to equip and staff vessels capable of crossing the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. These enterprises also built and maintained ships. The heads of these companies are referred to as *naukleros* in the inscriptions. The Greek term *naukleros* means a rich ship owner, entrepreneur or captain, its Latin equivalent is *navicularius* or *naulerus*.

The Red Sea trade was very profitable, therefore, we should not suppose that wealthy Romans from the higher ranks of society had no interest in it. However, *lex Claudia* from 218 B. C. made it impossible for *senators* to own commercial vessels that could potentially carry more than 300 amphoras. Thus, aristocrats were theoretically banned from long-distance sea trade. Nevertheless, the letters of Cicero mention two *senators* whose commercial connections can be proved (Cic. *Ad fam.* 12, 29; *Ad Att.* 14, 12, 3; *Ad Att.* 5, 2, 2; *Ad Att.* 15, 29, 1). D'Arms's report on a sunken Roman vessel proves the commercial connections of *senator* C. Sempromius Rufus, named by Cicero. The commercial activity of the other named *senator*, P. Sestius, a landowner from Cosa, can be proved with the cargo of an ancient Roman vessel that sank near Marseilles but was lifted from the seabed in 1942. 1700 amphoras with the inscriptions 'SES' and 'SEST' were found on the ship. The amphoras were also marked with the following symbols: anchors, five-pointed stars, palm-leaves, tridents, axes and crowns. These inscriptions and symbols were also found on amphoras near Cosa. Thus, both literary and archaeological findings support the involvement of *senators* in trade.

The extent to which the state interfered with long-distance trade has not been clarified yet. There is only indirect evidence to support the participation of the Roman Empire in the Red Sea trade. The Romans built roads, ports, and bulwarks east of the Nile in the desert that extends to the Red Sea. Roman soldiers were garrisoned in the Eastern Desert and a significant number of stone quarries operated in the area. Archaeological evidence supports the presence of emperors

here: in Myos Hormos a list containing the names and detailed provisions of freedmen and slaves was found on potsherds. These people were probably involved only in administration and not in trade. The Roman Empire had a considerable number of officials in the region. These officials were responsible for supplying the garrisons, the organisation of administration, the collection of taxes and also for sea and caravan trade. The *praefectus montis Berenicidae* was the head of the offices responsible for trade, and he was directly answerable to the *praefectus* of the province. His subordinate was the *arabarches*, who collected taxes from vessels and caravans. Obviously, more officers were needed to carry out this task. Some inscriptions also mention the title *paralempetes*, which was different from that of the *arabarches*, however, the function of the former is not clear. According to some theories, he could have been stationed in Coptos to collect the tolls there, while the *arabarches* collected money in the ports from vessels arriving from India. Sailors coming from the direction of India had to pay the most customs duties in Alexandria. The tax here was called *tetarte*, which meant 25% of the value of the transported goods. The oriental trade was primarily maintained by the demands of wealthy Romans for luxuries, although the state did earn a significant income from customs duties.

Only members of the Roman aristocracy could afford the expensive oriental luxuries. Therefore, Pliny's criticism of luxury was mainly aimed at this social rank. The gems needed for jewellery, pearls, creams, perfumes, and expensive fabrics satisfied the needs of aristocratic women. Pliny makes negative remarks on the lifestyle of women in accordance with the conservative, antifeminist views of his model of excellence, Cato the Elder. Pliny's criticism did not fail to include women from the family of the emperors; his works mention the spending of the wives of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Apparently, he did not dare to mention the female members of the Flavian dynasty by name. Besides aristocratic women, Pliny also criticised the luxurious way of life freedmen led. Among the wealthiest men of the 1st century A.D. we can find some influential freed slaves of the emperor, such as Licinus, Narcissus, Pallas, and Callistus. The growing influence of freedmen not only included the social sphere but the field of economy as well. Inscriptions also suggest that the social status, wealth and acceptance of goldsmiths, *margaritarii* (pearl dealers), *unguentarii* (perfume manufacturers) involved in the oriental trade increased significantly in this period. Pliny's younger contemporary, Petronius also comments on the social problems of the century in his *Satyricon*, criticising the wealth and luxurious way of life of freed slaves and their increasing influence in political and economic matters.

One of the most important parts in Pliny's Book VI is the description of the island of Taprobane. Envoys from the island first came to Rome in the 1st century A.D. Historians have still not agreed on the emperor under whose reign the event happened. Personally, I cannot accept Schwarz's assumption that the *libertus* disembarked on the island in the days of Augustus. Analysis of the text makes the reign of Claudius or the time preceding his reign more likely.

The description of such a remote island makes it possible for Pliny to draw attention to the social and moral problems of his age. The idealistic world of justice

and good morals in Taprobane is contrasted to the displeasing relations in the principate. In my opinion, the sentence in connection with the election of kings on the island refers to the most serious problem of the Flavian dynasty, namely, to the power being hereditary: *eligi regem a populo senecta clementiaque, liberos non habentem, et, si postea gignat, abdicari, ne fiat hereditarium regnum* (Plin. 6, 24, 89). Vespasian had made it obvious from the beginning of his reign that he was going to be succeeded by his sons, and he insisted on this decision regardless of the fierce objection of *senators*. In the 1st century A.D. the most important theoretical base of the opposition came from cynic and stoic philosophers, who frequently emphasized the difference between kingdom and tyranny in their speeches. In their opinion the main difference between a king and a tyrant is that the power of the former is granted by the gods, the king being chosen by the gods as the most potent and excellent one. They emphasized ability in contrast to birth and they stated that the power of a king may not be inherited. With the help of this ideology, the opposition wanted the senate to be given the right to elect the new emperor from among the most suitable men. This way they strongly opposed the inheritance of the power and the dynastic plans of the emperors.

Pliny not openly opposed the dynastic plans of the emperor, but his works reveal his republican feelings and stoic thoughts. Book VI emphasizes that he considers the life of these remote people as an example, as their king is elected by the people themselves, making it impossible for a ruler to pass the power on to his son, thereby expressing his own opinion considering the imperial ambitions of his age. This view could not fail to have an influence, as after the extinction of the Flavian dynasty, Pliny the Younger expresses the same idea in his *Panegyricus*, rejecting the hereditary feature of succession and emphasizing the virtues of adoption instead.

On the basis of the above it may not be questioned that the works and ideas of the pro-republican Pliny played a significant role in the fight of the senate and other intellectuals against the autocratic ambitions of the emperors. As an outcome of this fight, after the death of Domitian it was again the senate that could appoint the new emperor, so the role and the respect of the senate was maintained within the framework of the principate. The senate implemented the principle of adoption in contrast to the dynastic plans of the emperors. In accord with other researchers on the same topic, I do not question Pliny the Elder's friendly feelings and loyalty towards the dynasty, but as an intelligent, independent person he also expressed his critical opinion, although he could only do it in an indirect, disguised way.

In my thesis I have tried to create a more complete picture of the trade between the Roman Empire and India based on the works of Pliny the Elder, other literary sources, and archaeological findings. On the basis of the *Natural History* I examined the author's opinion about the society of his age, about oriental trade, and I also tried to refine the image of his relationship to the Flavian dynasty. However, the research may not be complete as further investigations of the 37 books of the *Natural History* and additional archaeological findings may further enrich the picture.

Diaries and Memoirs about the Eastern Theatre of War, 1942

JUDIT PIHURIK



Choice of subject and goal

The professor and tutor of my *doctor universitatis* dissertation, Lajos Serfőző, drew my attention to the importance of diaries and memoirs, which were published in ever growing number from the 1980s, and at the same time he also pointed out the latent possibilities in the research of subjective sources. My PhD dissertation is partly a tribute to his memory. Péter Sipos, the tutor of the present dissertation, also encouraged me to continue my research into this field; I should like to thank him, with respect, for his support.

My dissertation is about the history of the 2nd Hungarian army; its goal is to describe how the authors of these diaries and memoirs, Hungarian soldiers directed to the front in 1942, experienced this individual and social cataclysm. After having completed my *doctor universitatis* dissertation (*In the Flow. Turning Points in Hungary's Road into World War II until 1941 on the Basis of Diaries, Memoirs, and Autobiographies*. Szeged, 1993.) my attention turned towards this new topic. The most important goal was a systematic, deep, analytic and comparative description of unpublished diaries and memoirs. In the last two decades the number of published documents has been growing. I also relied on these sources, but I concentrated on the unpublished documents. I could not aim at completeness, because a great number of manuscripts may be hiding in the hands of descendants. However, I managed to cover the material preserved in the Article Collection of the Military Archive.

By processing this source material I did not aim at depicting the military events, though – as most of the documents of the army perished – some diaries may contain facts which help in the reconstruction of these events as well. For me the most important factor was not the reliability of the authors, because my work aims predominantly aims how the individual recognises and interprets his historical role. It is indisputable that each person emphasises his viewpoint in the discourse of history. As the authors were participants and not the makers of the events, their writings describe the individual consequences of historical decisions. My point is that on the basis of these diaries the way of thinking and mentality characteristic of these soldiers can be depicted, which also hints at the general way of thinking of the age.

Antecedents in the history of research

A detailed, objective description of the history of the Royal Hungarian Army in World War II has been missing for decades. There were only a few works on military history at the disposal of historians.¹ In the last two decades a number of military historical source publications and studies have been published. Earlier synthetic works, however, did not cover the history of the 2nd Hungarian army in detail.² In connection with mobilisation, equipment and supply of the army the works of Lóránd Dombrády threw new light on the issues, especially his *The Hungarian Military Economy in World War II*, published in 2003, which describes the Hungarian-German military and economic relations in a new light, and also his collection of studies, which deals with the military policy issues as well.³

From the viewpoint of my dissertation the most important, basic work is Péter Szabó's full army history written on the basis of archival sources.⁴ He is also one of the authors of a volume about the losses of the army, which also made use of abundant subjective sources.⁵ Apart from these, study of my topic is greatly aided by *Hungary in World War II*,⁶ and important data is contained in the book of Sándor Szakály.⁷ The book of Krisztián Ungváry⁸ covers the struggles of the 2nd army in little detail. Mention must be made about the fact that from the viewpoint of the topic the published memoirs and diaries are also of utmost importance.⁹

¹ E.g., F. Adonyi-Naredy, *A magyar katona a második világháborúban*. [The Hungarian Soldier in World War II] Klagenfurt 1954; *Adalékok a Horthy-hadsereg szervezetének és háborús tevékenységének tanulmányozásához (1938–1945)*. [Data on the Study of the Organisation and War Activity of the Horthy-Army (1938–1945)] compiled by J. Csima, Budapest 1961.

² E.g., L. Dombrády-S. Tóth, *A magyar királyi honvédség: 1919–1945*. [The Royal Hungarian Army 1919–1945] Budapest 1987. P. Gosztonyi, *A magyar honvédség a második világháborúban*. [The Hungarian Army in World War II] Budapest 1992.

³ L. Dombrády, *Katonapolitika és hadsereg: 1920–1944*. [Military Policy And Army 1920–1944] Budapest, 2000.

⁴ P. Szabó, *Don-kanyar. A magyar királyi 2. honvéd hadsereg története (1942–1943)*. [Don Bend. The History of the 2nd Royal Hungarian Army (1942–1943)] Budapest 2001.

⁵ J. Bús–P. Szabó, *Dokumentum-émlékkönyv a II. világháborúban a történelmi Magyarország területén elesett, meghalt magyar katonákról és munkaszolgálatosokról*. [May They Rest in Peace... Documentary Memorial Album on the Hungarian Soldiers and Forced Labourers Fallen in World War II in the Eastern Theatre] Budapest 1999.

⁶ *Magyarország a második világháborúban*. Lexikon A–Zs. [Hungary in World War II. A Lexicon A–Zs] ed.-in-chief P. Sipos Péter ed. I. Ravasz, Budapest 1997.

⁷ S. Szakály, *A magyar katonai felső vezetés 1938–1945*. *Lexikon és Adattár*. [The Hungarian Higher Command 1938–1945. A Lexicon and Database] Budapest 2001.

⁸ K. Ungváry, *A magyar honvédség a második világháborúban*. [The Hungarian Army in World War II] Budapest 2004.

⁹ E.g., J. Koltai, *Recollections Of A Hungarian Military Officer – Portrait About The 20th Century*. (Washington, 1971), or *Lajtos, Árpád: Memory of the 2nd Hungarian Army 1942–1943*. (Budapest, 1989).

Only a few general analytical works have been published on subjective sources. The book by György Ránki¹⁰ deals with content of memoirs published by emigrants. According to his allegation it is a biased, to some extent polemical, work, but from a methodological point of view I found it rather useful.

From the 1980s an ever-growing number of diaries and memoirs dealing with the Horthy-Era can be reckoned with, the forewords of which analysed the published texts mostly from the viewpoint of source criticism, described portraits of the authors, set them in their age and evaluated their roles. A common feature – which I found worth following – is the analysis of the diaries from the viewpoint of reliability, comparative analysis and setting them in the portrait of the age.

Since the last two decades of the last century two joint tendencies can be observed in historiography, which can be associated with the topic of my research. One of them analyses the individuals and the common participants in history, the other the different fields of everyday life, the historicism of weekdays. In connection with these fields – together with other documents – the subjective sources came to the forefront of interest, their common characteristic feature being that the interest is self-centred and the tone is personal.

On the basis of the volume of Gábor Gyáni¹¹ it is evident how great an importance is attached to the subjective sources, especially diaries by the author. These documents are not important from the viewpoint of political, economic, social macro-history, although in my opinion they may complete the general picture, but because of their personal viewpoint.

Thinking over the doubts of post-modern concept of history on the cognition of history, I consider the opinions of Mária Ormos,¹² Ignác Romsics¹³ and Pál Pritz¹⁴ to be the most important. Ignác Romsics emphasised that the number of interpretations may be unlimited, but the value of the individual narratives may be different. Mária Ormos quoted the example of World War II, in which all the participants experienced it from their own viewpoints and the different experiences generated different discourses. The description of events permits certain approaches and attitudes, but only to the limit of a framework set by the sources checked. Total reconstruction of the past may be impossible, but to some extent, on the basis of reliable sources, a certain patchwork can be attempted. Though I consider these diaries important primary sources, of course their authors did not compile their works by following the above-mentioned standards, so their discourses can be regarded as subjective narrations of history.

¹⁰ György Ránki: *Memoirs and the Reality about Hungary's Role in World War II*. Budapest 1964.

¹¹ Gábor Gyáni: *Memory, Recollection and the Discourse of History*. Budapest 2000.

¹² Mária Ormos, *History: Is There Such A Thing?* <http://www.origo.hu/mindentudas-egyeteke/ormos/20030307ormos1.html> 2003. 03. 28.)

¹³ The Myth of The Objectivity of Historiography and The Unattainable Mythicised Past. In *Myths, Legends and Misconceptions about 20th-century Hungarian History*, ed. I. Romsics, Budapest 2002.

¹⁴ P. Pritz, "Some Problems of Our Historiography, Especially Post-modern," *Múltunk* 2003/4.

The study of Pál Pritz dealing with post-modern historiography enumerated convincing arguments for the possibility of historical cognition. For me his most important methodological consideration was his answer to the fact of the existence of different discourses, which differed from the post-modern concept: there are rational explanations for these differences.¹⁵ His other argument supports my view: differences in certain discourses of history may be emphasised, but their common features are more important because they convey reliable information about the past.¹⁶ If I were seeking a motto for my work, I would choose the following thought of Pál Pritz: "... even through of its weaknesses, history possesses the greatest number of tools to help society look on its past without myths and legends." There is also an urgent need to look on Hungary's history in World War II without legends, and in my opinion this can greatly be helped by the use of war diaries and memoirs.

Sources of the thesis

I used diaries and recollections as a basis for my thesis from the pool of subjective sources – diaries, private letters, memoirs, recollections, oral history and autobiographies. Beside the diaries, which were written in parallel with the events, I also consider private letters a primary source, but as on the front there was no correspondence without censorship, I did not rely on the latter category. In case of oral history, the storyteller forms a conscious picture of the past; his memories are biased by time, present expectations and other factors. In this way recollections to some extent reflect the time of their writing as well. To put it simply, the diary is written for the self, the memoir for the reader; the diary writer wants to record the events, the memoir writer wants to reconstruct them. The object of description also differs, because diaries are concentrated on the individual, while memoirs take the age as their centrepiece.

The individual may be an actor or only a passive part of the events, but how he felt can be established, what he thought about them, what his set of values was in the period, what he considered as viable courses of action and why he took, or did not take, these courses of action. To what extent did he live up to expectations, what goals did he accept, what did he refuse to do and why, how and to what extent was he affected by the ideas and tendencies of the age? The diary writer works synchronised by the events; he characterises them in an honest personal way since his aim is not to inform readers, but to record his experiences and thoughts. The direct utterances, instant reactions and the unfeigned way of writing make diaries different from other types of subjective sources and contribute to a better reconstruction of the age. On a wider scale, everyday entries of participants are extremely important from the viewpoint of historical reconstruction.

Memoirs are written about a greater part of one's adult life span, while recollections are compiled about a shorter period or an important event, but both are written after the events. The goal of their writers is to consciously inform the

¹⁵ Pritz, "Some Problems," 265.

¹⁶ Pritz, "Some Problems," 277.

readers, to survey the events, perhaps to analyse them, but very often one can establish the apologetic, self-redeeming factor, too. The author undertakes to describe the background of historical events and to re-adjust those views which he considers inappropriate. Sometimes he also conveys so-far unknown facts and documents. In this way the centre seems to be the age and not the individual. Memoir writers often use sources during their work: diaries, everyday entries, documents and historical literature as well. Circumstances even in this case are not always favourable; many memoirs were written in POW camps, emigration, underground or in forced retirement. These factors may contribute to false judgement and may hinder an objective unbiased evaluation of the age.

During compilation of my work I attempted to make use of the unpublished memoirs and diaries in the collection of the Military Archive, but I also selected among, and relied on, similar recently published writings. In the course of my study I examined nearly 130 sources, so I could directly profit from nearly half of the available material. These are – with only a few exceptions – manuscripts: 21 war diaries, 44 memoirs. Most of the sources were written by officers – 24 professional officers and 21 reservists, 10 were written by privates, most of them reservists, and two by forced labourers. The number of men who wrote diaries among the 235,000 soldiers and 39,000 forced labourers serving on the eastern front cannot be established. Many of these diaries may have perished when their writers fell, disappeared, were wounded or taken into captivity, but some of them may have been preserved by their families.

In my view war diaries are not documents of everyday life; although their writers are common people, they have to act under extreme circumstances. On the front one's life is in constant danger, so activities to avoid certain death became ever-present features of life and the simplest facts of life take on another dimension. It is probable that most of the authors felt compelled to write their experiences because of these circumstances. As I have pointed out, I did not judge the reliability of the diaries from the viewpoint of historical truth, but that the authors recorded instant experiences, thoughts, atmosphere and feelings. This time I did undertake the general examination of memoirs – which are available in far greater numbers than I actually made use of – because on the one hand I consider them to be far more inaccurate. On the other hand their authors did not write about their instant impressions and later, when they recorded their memories, they were under the influence of many other factors. When making a difference between the reliability of diaries and memoirs it is not only a difference in the level of historical truth, but there are differences in the writers' intentions and content as well. Taking all these into consideration when selecting the available memoirs, one criterion was whether it contained a direct reference or other evidence for the existence of a previously written diary or recollection which served as a basis for compiling the memoir. There are cases when an individual wrote a diary and a memoir as well, which clearly demonstrate the above-mentioned difference. It is interesting to establish the change in the opinion of the author as contained in the diary and the memoir. Thematic differences can also help select

between the memoirs based on diaries; worries and feelings about home, family and work appear in diaries, while these are normally missing from memoirs.

In the examination of subjective sources a basic point is the author's background: his education, vocation, social status, religion, and world-picture, because these factors influence him in formulating his experience and attitude. However, not all of these pieces of information are at our disposal because the manuscripts sometimes contain only the name, rank and number of unit. Very little is known about the authors themselves, in most cases only what they say about themselves. In these cases we can only conclude on the basis of their texts what the governing motives, intentions, and emotions were in their deeds and opinions. A common feature of the diaries written by soldiers of different ranks is that most of them were not members of the power mechanism, so they were unaware of the background of events and they were not in a position to direct or influence either the course of history or their own personal fate.

The war diaries originating from 1942 allow for establishing a balanced picture. The diaries of reservist officers and privates depicting everyday life on the front, changes in atmosphere, and personal emotions are priceless documents of the age. Professional officers tended to write predominantly about struggles; they made fewer personal remarks, although some of them also contain personal experiences. These sources accurately describe the shift in the morale of officers and privates from the enthusiasm of arriving at the front until they came to the conclusion that they were alone in a situation without any prospect of returning. After some time the experiences induced the authors to question the course of the war and victory. They had to come to the conclusion that the Soviets were not defeated, but defended themselves steadily on the 200-kilometre-long front. Former enthusiasm gives way to doubt, feelings of being left alone, distrust, and bitter remarks began to appear in the diaries. It is not a surprise that many members of the army set about writing diaries, even those soldiers who, under normal circumstances, would not have been considered men of letters. It is probable that this was a kind of defensive reflex in an extraordinary situation: the reflex of people in constant life-threatening danger. Writing diaries may have helped them endure the ever-present fear and anxiety which exposure to almost certain death or injury meant for soldiers, who had to exchange their former civilian lives for soldiery.

Apart from the diaries and memoirs, other documents found in the documentation of the 2nd army, e.g., diary appendices, situation and atmosphere reports, situation evolutions, and summaries also contained important details in connection with my topic. Subjective opinions also appear in official documents. They may either support the descriptions found in the diaries of officers and privates or help solve controversies, so they are also worth examining.

The Structure of the thesis and the method of processing data

My dissertation is divided into 22 chapters; its structure follows the themes of diaries and memoirs. Chapters I-III contain the introduction and description of sources; chapter IV is about the mobilisation and a short history of the 2nd Army. Chapter V deals with the role of propaganda in formulating views on participa-

tion in the war. Chapters VI–VIII compares scholarly views on the supply and constitution of the army; chapters IX–XII contain experiences and opinions in connection with the march, the struggles, life on the front and the Red Army. Chapter XII also describes the situation in the autumn and winter of 1942; Ch. XIII depicts what the diaries contain about the relations of the theatre of war and the home front. Separate chapters deal with opinions on the soviet system and the people (XIV), the partisans (XV), the war (XVI), and the Jewish forced labourers (XVII). Chapter XVIII is about the war crimes committed by Hungarian soldiers and mentioned in the diaries. Chapter XIX summarises the soldiers' experiences, including remarks on women. Chapters XX–XXI deal with the literary allusions and humorous episodes in the diaries. Chapter XXII is the conclusions. At the end of the dissertation there are tables showing the rank and service of the authors in different units of the 2nd Army. There are also two appendices: a piece of satiric writing and a map.

The characteristic topics in the diaries form an organic unit and record the experience of progress in space and time, making for a continuous narrative. In connection with actual events or just incidentally they are interwoven with details about other thoughts, feelings and moods of the authors.

When processing the sources my primary method was comparative analysis: the texts of diaries and memoirs were not only compared with each other, but in certain cases with related documentation of the army and the opinion of the literature as well. When interpreting the opinions I took into consideration the factors influencing the authors, which is why I analysed the role of propaganda reflected in their works.

On the basis of the war diaries one can describe that way of thinking and mentality which was characteristic of the soldiers and also sheds light on that of the age. However, there are certain differences, as the authors found themselves in an exceptional situation, exposed to war circumstances, far away from their homes, torn from their homeland, in constant danger of death. At home their attitudes were biased by different family backgrounds, life standards, and educational differences; local communities may have influenced them and countless impressions touched them on the front, however, their attitudes became uniform to some extent.

Emotions and feelings of soldiers were intensified in the extraordinary circumstances. Examples of good and bad could be cited: comradeship, patriotism, responsibility as well as solidarity or the lack of it, envy and malevolence. The sources record the phases of change, when individual morals were undermined, and the individual became capable of committing deeds which in normal circumstances would be deemed. The diaries and memoirs clearly describe the consequences of power encouraging deeds which would be deemed by employing a double set of values to measure the value of life. The principle of stealing or robbery also gains a new dimension when the state approves of it.

Although there are identical characteristic features in the statements of the diaries, and we may assume that they contain general opinions, still the picture preserved by them is colourful and complex. The soldiers of the 2nd Hungarian Army were victims who did not go to war by their own intention and were not

responsible for their role. But they found themselves in a twofold role: their life was in danger and at the same time others' lives, freedom was at their disposal. It depended upon them how they used, or abused this – otherwise non-existent – power. In many cases there was no limit to the emotions set free by the political and military leadership, for some inhumanity became the standard. Obviously there were countless explanations for the effectiveness of extreme propaganda – the Trianon decision, the euphoria of the success of irredentism, the war situation – still it is astounding that according to the sources it influenced uneducated people as well as members of the intelligentsia – doctors, teachers, and professional officers, too. The question is whether they realised the bias of propaganda when facing reality. Some of the authors with a seemingly natural way of thinking blame all the problems on the Jews and take it for granted that they may dispose of the people, territory, and goods of the Soviet Union.

The possibilities of the topic's further development

Analysis of the processed source material can be further developed in many directions. On the one hand the history of the January 1943 breakthrough and retreat can be examined. However, few diaries dealing with this topic survive; a great number of memoirs discuss the history of the mauling and losses of the 2nd Army. Another possibility is the examination of the memoirs from a different point of view: with a thematic approach. Many memoirs, recollections written after the 1950s, contain ideas or stereotypes which were generated by circumstances and which characterise the time of writing instead of the time of narration, e.g., a reverse projection of Hungarian-Soviet co-operation in times of war, an idealised picture of circumstances in the war, opinions about the cause and goal of war. Some examples of the latter are the emphasis on the negative role of German officers, blaming the political leadership for not taking Hungarian interests into consideration, and other legends promoted by films, the press or literature (e.g., the Krúdy legend, according to which the bombing of Kassa was a German, or German-Hungarian provocation).

I plan to examine a similar type Russian source material. On two occasions (in St. Petersburg in 2002 and in Moscow in 2004) I had the chance to conduct research briefly in libraries and archives in Russia and to consult with Russian historians. My predominant interest is whether there has been a change in recent Russian historiography in connection with World War II, if there are similar manuscripts to the ones I analysed, and what opinions they contain on Hungarian soldiers.

The scholarly results of the dissertation

One of the important goals of my work is to contribute to the evolution of a more realistic opinion about the activity of the soldiers of the 2nd Hungarian Army. This includes the enumeration of those negative deeds which the Hungarian soldiers – according to the sources – committed in the theatre of war, but also the acts of bravery and firm resistance which characterised most of the soldiers. In

Hungary there is a consistent negative picture; countless stories are told about their behaviour, but deeds Hungarian soldiers committed on the front are hard to face, even if we know how circumstances deformed their set of values. Obviously, I do not intend to say that all negative examples can and should be generalised, but we cannot leave them out without paying any attention.

The many-sided interpretation of the sources examined generates a colourful picture. Nobody interprets the events in the same way; the possibilities of approaches are almost countless. The most important is if a commonly accepted version of the events evolves independent of individual narratives. If that happens, perhaps nobody wants to promote his history as the solely acceptable one.

The soldiers arrived at the front with firm ideas, partly influenced by the experiences of the former generation that had fought on the Russian front in World War I or were taken captive there. The picture was further modified by propaganda and military training; then came the personal experiences. The diaries preserve this process until today and this became the basis for a new common experience. After World War I, oral and written stories about the front had become organic parts of common talk, while talk of World War II remained taboo for a long time for political reasons. Veterans of World War I had been highly esteemed heroes for their communities and society as a whole, but after 1945 soldiers who had participated in World War II became scapegoats of the Horthy era. They had to repress their memories; they could not even be proud of those deeds – and society could not even learn about them – which would have been worthy of pride; their valour was not esteemed. In this way most personal experiences did not become known or a valuable part of the common experience of society. This not only true for their experiences with the Stalinist system, but for war experiences as well. A new type of propaganda, different stereotypes, covered reality again, which is why experiences of soldiers recorded by themselves immediately could be important.

It cannot be ascertained how many diaries are still unknown, but I think the number of sources at our disposal is enough to suppose that the general picture would not have to be modified even if there were a greater number of diaries available. I am fully convinced that I have managed to learn about an appropriate number of diaries to complete the history of Hungary in World War II from a mentality and social historical approach.

During the preparation of this dissertation I tried to keep in mind the principle voiced by Pal Prates: "... according to experience witnesses remember the events differently countless times, but by solving contradictions and the use of logic we have an almost perfect tool to differentiate between false and appropriate conclusions."¹⁷

¹⁷ Pritz, "Some Problems," 247.

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